

# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. XII. No. 2.

AUTUMN, 1920.

## THE URBAN COMPLEX.

A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF URBAN DRIFT.

THE movement of people from the country districts to town and city has social causes as well as economic. The urban environment by the mere fact of density of population makes an appeal to a multitude of people who desire satisfactions that the country with its scattered inhabitants cannot provide. Any investigation of the motives that bring country people to town or keep them there will reveal the force of the social appeal of the urban environment. Men and women who are without work will cling to the city in most cases even when offered employment at good wages in the country. Others under stress of circumstances will accept work in the country only to find after a brief period of service that they cannot endure an environment which seems so empty of interests and void of pleasures.

The following incident illustrates this attitude of mind: "Governor Eberhart of Minnesota tells of a visit he made to Minneapolis in a harvest emergency, for labourers to gather wheat. The farmers were at their wits' ends to save their crops. It was said that the city was full of the unemployed. He found them, as he says, seated on the park benches in all sections of the city and overflowing to the kerb stones. Work, it seemed, could not be found. Some of the men were on the verge of starvation. It looked as if his task would be an easy one and he could take back as many men as he wished. He picked out his men and told them he wanted their help. They were eager for the chance and said they could do anything. He spoke of the service he had in mind in the country and on the farms, when instantly their faces fell and they were as glum as they had been before. Their answer was: 'We don't want to go to the country, boss. We don't want to live on a farm. There's nothin' for us there—no life, no entertainment, no lights—nothin' but monotony and work. We'd rather stay in the city and starve than go to the country an' have nothin'.

to do but work. No, sir, we stay right here.' And stay they did. He couldn't get one of them to go with him, and the farmers had to harvest their wheat as best they could while the city held in its grasp, unemployed, enough men to garner all the crops of the state."

The psychological causes of urban drift are socially most sinister. They may run counter to economic forces that tend to provide a reasonable balance between rural and urban population and thus they may draw people to the city in opposition to the welfare of the community or the individual. The gregarious instinct of men has been greatly intensified by the urban standards of life that have been popularized by the magnitude of modern industrialism. Into every country home goes to-day as a result of the power, prestige, and avidity of the modern city, an invitation to the gratification of gregarious desires. The mail that brings contact with the neighbouring city and thus provides the means of enjoying in the country some of the advantages of urban culture also calls attention to the dominance of city standards. Even the news of the day must be read in urban setting. The city reaches into every hamlet and awakens desires that demand for their final satisfaction life conditions that only the town or city can provide.

The greatest single propulsion toward city life comes at the present time from the exaggeration of the gregarious instinct. Although modern invention and present circumstances of life provide the means for a greater degree of comfortable dissociation than ever could have been in the past, the mass of people have turned from the individual satisfactions made available and have sought with the greatest intensity gregarious pleasures. Men and women as never before wish to feel the zest of herd-joys; in both work and play they detest isolation. The city street with its crowds becomes a source of pleasurable sensations that can hardly be had elsewhere. The gregarious satisfactions furnished by the urban environment captivate the senses quickly and increase their tyranny with the passing of time. Country-bred men and women have been known in a few short months to become so saturated with herd cravings as to find even a short visit to their parent's country home unendurable, and in spite of genuine affection they have sought in vain to control an intense restlessness for familiar gregarious experiences. The old community seems literally a dead thing; a social situation without density of population lacks meaning and animation. The present trend appears to be toward a self-chosen enslavement of the mass of people as a result of an unreasonable emphasis upon gregarious satisfactions. Public thinking and public activity were never more influenced by gregarious impulses. Nearly every type of propaganda originates in

the city and is directed from it. The city thinking which assumes national dictatorship is permeated with gregarious superstition and concerns itself with gregarious gossip and trivialities. A street occurrence of little or no significance to the passer-by will quickly gather a crowd and hold a busy merchant on an important mission even when he has no chance of satisfying his gregarious curiosity. The urban-manipulated fashion due to the gregarious servitude readily accepted by the majority of city dwellers grips an entire territory with no regard to comfort, health, or aesthetics.

Governments are unable to disregard the herd desires of the people, and by their policies magnify the importance of the gregarious cravings until it becomes a public axiom that provision should be made for the useless and the spectacular even in times of stress if only a multitude of people may be brought into the streets to revel in the joys of closest proximity. Administrations rise and fall by their ability or inability to make a gregarious appeal. Calm judgment is stolen by the mob, led perhaps by a mere youth, and a mass of well-meaning men and women carry out the most savage and irrational programme under the spell of a gregarious debauchery.

The superior opportunities of the city for the satisfying of the human craving for power bring many people out of the country into the urban environment. This element in the attractiveness of the city has not received the consideration it deserves, for, under the conditions of present social life, it indulges hankerings rooted in both instincts and education. The desires of men and women that may properly be grouped together because of a common yearning for power are many, impetuous, deep-seated. The instincts of pugnacity and self-assertion support this human hunger for power which, by social influence, is so largely transformed into impulses of rivalry. The initial part it has played in the past in the drama of human experience, especially in social struggles, demonstrates how firmly it has been built into the human personality and how impossible it is to ignore it in any attempt to understand a significant social movement.

The country has as much opportunity for struggle as have the city and the town. The form of contest provided by the country environment is not, however, that which appeals to the average modern person. Any effort to produce the maximum yield from an acre of land is certainly a striving of the wits and energy of men to win control of the forces of nature. But this type of contest occupies so long a period and is so prosaic in its appeal to the average imagination that it affords no satisfaction for the combative instincts. Rivalry there surely is in the country, but it is on so small a scale and generally so lacking in spectacular expressions,

that it cannot captivate the aggressive desires of many men and women.

The city teems with contest. Rivalry in myriad forms is everywhere. The city draws to itself the commanding person in whom love of battle is paramount. From all sections the aggressive people are brought together and given every possible opportunity to develop this craving for power. They set the pace and the entire community follows after, each man doing the best he can in the fascinating free-for-all struggle. Contest invades even monotonous toil and makes industry a never-ending battle between employer and employee. Competition colours the recreational life. Wealth is used generally for some form of distinction. Even charity is supported by funds that need to be credited to the giver by skilful publicity or, lacking an appeal to self-assertion, the benevolence falters for means of support. The sports are of course always competitive and only in the city can they be staged on a tremendous scale. To be sure the newspapers send out the daily records to the most distant hamlets, but these reports are the mere skeletons of the events that in the city thousands witnessed. Indeed the press account only deepens the impression that the city has the normal conditions of life even in ways of recreation and in contrast the country appears bare.

The mere pressing together of population, the congestion of the city, gives the impression of bigness. Even the poorest inhabitant may have the sense of dwelling in an atmosphere of importance and power, and in some vicarious fashion may identify himself with the greatness of urban environment even if irritated by his own exclusion from so many of its advantages. The mob flatters each individual caught by its passion and magnifies self-importance to the point of intoxication. The crowded city street always has the quiescent conditions of a state of mob. The usual person in a crowd feels the potential power of the mass; by his mere presence he accumulates suggestions of irresistible might. Unless he identifies himself with this man-power the crowd becomes an alien force and he flees from it with morbid fear. Thus craving for power does its part in collecting the city throngs; the gregarious pull is re-enforced by the vigour of mass suggestions.

Urban life provides certain peculiar and temporary experiences of dominance. One need not be wealthy to enjoy for an occasional brief period the customary luxuries of affluence. For a very small expenditure one may act like a prince at the café and satiate the love of command by the temporary obsequiousness of the waiter. The tip itself flourishes in the city and continues largely because of the satisfactions it gives those who enjoy the feeling of superiority. Even the relationship of the employer and employee must



in the country usually have a degree of equality. Condescension irritates. Money will buy service but seldom subserviency. The transitory contacts of urban commerce, however, permit fictitious attitudes of sycophancy and for the moment give the buyer a sense of self-importance that delights his craving for power.

An analysis of the psychological aspects of city drift necessarily includes suggestion. Suggestion may be defined as "an indirect appeal which awakens a determining tendency in such a way that the subject has more the sense of acting on his own initiative than of responding to external influence."<sup>1</sup> Recent psychological discoveries have given emphasis to the large part suggestion plays in the careers of men and women especially when it is allied with the results of early childhood impressions. As psychology advances toward a causal understanding of human conduct more and more it reveals the commanding importance that belongs to the impressions of childhood and early youth. It is increasingly clear that much of the happenings of adult life can be explained only when they are brought into relation with the events of childhood.

Early experiences that prepare the way for the later influence of suggestion upon adult decisions contribute their share of the causes of rural migration. Country-life conditions have given in the past the suggestion to many young men and women that farming is an occupation of exceptional toil. This fact is often revealed by the statements of city people who were brought up on a farm. It is one of the most common reasons given for the leaving of the farm life, and, even if it may not be the chief reason for the removal to the city as often as is affirmed, it surely plays a significant rôle in rural migration. These suggestions that farming has excessive need of toil are often gathered from the remarks of parents and older people in the presence of children. Discouraged and discontented fathers and mothers who dwell on the hardships of country life originate suggestions that influence some of the young people who leave the country for the town and city. These criticisms of farming and of country community conditions are not uncommon among country people, and when often made in the presence of children the latter can hardly fail to develop antagonism to the country environment. Farming is the only occupation where dissatisfaction with the results of one's labour easily passes into an attack upon the environment itself. The farmer cannot change his occupation as a rule without moving to a radically different environment. Personal disappointments and dissatisfactions in this fashion are apt finally to colour one's attitude toward the country environment itself.

1. Gault: "Suggestion and Suggestibility." *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1919.

A small matter that may at times lead to deep-set dislike of the country is the grievance the schoolboy feels when his plans for a holiday are interfered with by the necessity of his helping his father on the farm. This experience, although trivial to the adult, may linger long in the mind of a child and alienate him from country-life interests.

Education in all its forms is ever in danger in the country of giving the growing boy and girl urban ambitions and urban ideals. Until recently the content of study in country schools insidiously undermined the natural attractions of the country. The urban point of view was both consciously and unconsciously emphasized by the teacher who was generally ill-prepared to interpret the value of country interests to the children, and who was herself often dissatisfied with the conditions of life in the country. As has long been recognized, the preacher also frequently brought to the young people of his church urban attitudes and urban cravings that added to the appeal of the cities and thus encouraged the urban drift. If these suggestions from teachers and ministers induced the boy and girl most fitted for urban life to leave home for a proper field of activity it is also true that the same influence sent others to the city who naturally would have remained on the farm and prospered.

Considerable progress during the last decade has been made in the correction of this urbanizing influence of the public schools in Western countries, and notably, perhaps, the United States. Teachers have become sympathetic toward the opportunities of the open country. Preachers also have become conscious of the danger of "the urban-mind," and in many cases have acted as interpreters to country people of the resources and satisfactions of rural life. However, there are still teachers in country schools and preachers in country churches who have their faces set toward the city and whose influence necessarily reinforces the movement of the country population to the cities.

The urban advantage in social prestige has influenced rural people through suggestion, and has added another motive for moving to the city. The city furnishes the conditions for political and commercial distinction and for the accumulation of great wealth. Production by machinery affords opportunity for administrative ability and technical skill, and the executive and the artisan are the best paid in their respective classes. These representatives of modern industry by their large earnings set the standard for brain and hand work and both of them flourish only in an urban environment. Unconsciously these two classes are accepted as typical illustrations of the advantages of urban opportunity, for the standard of life of the unskilled labourers in the cities has never succeeded in off-setting the prestige created by the spectacular

success of the man of "big-business," or by the high wages of the skilled worker. The rural occupation, on the other hand, has never received a just social appreciation. Unfortunately farming permits a man with little ability, shiftless in his habits and lacking in energy, somehow to exist on a low standard of life, and this type in the country has attracted greater attention than he deserves and given farming less prestige as an occupation than belongs to it. The hazardous character of farming, the effect of season and natural conditions that cannot wholly be anticipated even by the most efficient of farmers, makes it impossible for the intelligent farmer to demonstrate the full measure of his superiority. Thus rural efficiency never gets all the social recognition to which it is entitled.

The complete force of urban suggestion along lines of occupational prestige cannot be revealed until it is frankly admitted how much of late social thinking has discounted manual labour. This fact is especially disclosed by the increasing difficulty of getting women to perform domestic service even when the economic returns offered are greater than they can obtain in the other occupations open to them. In somewhat the same way but unfortunately in less degree there has grown up in the social mind an estimation of occupational desirability which has placed the professions and even clerking above farming. Perhaps the need of wearing "working clothes" when farming has had something to do with this creation of false occupational colour.

Its superior community resources have also given the city a prestige which enters country thinking and suggests the inferiority of the rural environment. The city is accepted as the community standard merely because the gathering of population into narrow limits makes possible a vast number of social enterprises.

The prestige of the city is by no means accepted by all country people. Many react to the suggestion negatively; the evils of the urban environment are given excessive emphasis. Psychologically, however, this hostility to the urban civilization often reveals the deeply-felt force of urban prestige which is resented but which nevertheless is not without influence.

A profound psychological cause of urban drift is the increasing modern appetite for exciting sense stimulation. This craving is more significant than that which springs from any instinct, for it represents the original need of the mind. Consciousness demands stimulation, for only so can it function and fulfil its biological destiny. It is the business of mind to attend. By its activities in response to stimuli from the environment the mind both gathers knowledge and obtains inward satisfactions.

The present craving among Occidental peoples for intense quantitative sense experiences is of course no new human experi-

ence. The new element in the situation consists of the forms it takes as a result of the wonderful opportunities for violent stimulation made possible by applied science. The intensity, the variety, and the accessibility of myriad forms of exciting stimulants, artificially created by modern industry, constitute a new order of human experience. The new opportunities bring forth new needs until there results an unparalleled appetite for stimulation of quantitative character. Much of the labour and much of the wealth of the present age is consumed in feeding this worldwide hunger for intense, artificial sense experience. Science has developed more rapidly than has man's appreciation of the best uses of its enormous resources.

It is only the city, however, that can furnish the necessary conditions for the largest amount of this type of quantitative sense experience. The country by contrast seems to those who have once tasted with satisfaction urban intensities a dull place with little that invigorates the mind. People in the city crowd together not merely because they are gregarious. The close contact, the massing of persons, also makes possible a multitude of quantitative sense pleasures that can by no means be duplicated in the country. The country may more and more obtain the advantages of modern invention, but its meagre population forbids its ever competing at this point favourably with the city. It must lag behind in its ability to supply exciting experiences on a scale easily provided by urban environment. It has a handicap imposed by the inherent limitations of rural life and in this age a handicap of large social significance.

The appeal of city pleasures goes out to rural people. By word of mouth, by the daily press, by commercial propaganda, through advertising, the attractions of the city along all lines of quantitative sense experiences are brought to the notice of country people. The force of this in turning many toward the cities is not likely to be over-estimated.

We have no reason to suppose that the appeal of quantitative stimulation will have less influence over the next generation. The opposite seems likely to prove true. The precocious introduction given most children to the exciting pleasures of the moving picture, the automobile and other recent additions to society's equipment for quantitative experiences, will surely create in them an appetite more exacting than that of their parents for conditions of life that necessarily can be had only in the cities. The next decade, unless in some way there can come a reaction against present tendencies, is destined to see urban life adding to its social attractiveness and rural isolation becoming more and more oppressive for an increasing number of people.



The rural environment is by no means destitute of fascinating sense stimuli. It naturally abounds in interests. All it requires is capacity for appreciation. The tasks of farming may be either pure toil or achievement. Which fact will be uppermost is determined by the attitude of the worker. Farming is really less monotonous than the work of most city dwellers; it can be carried on with a zest difficult to duplicate in most urban employment. The great stretches of land also may seem either dreary spaces, mere fields of corn or wheat, or territory filled with meaning. Everything depends upon the interpreter. The country environment has an unquestioned supremacy in poetry, freedom and closeness to nature, and ingenuity. It is the spirit of the age that is robbing it of much of its attractiveness.

The antidote is better education. Life in the country need not be uncomfortable. Country conditions need not be meagre or hard. Invention furnishes country people with the great majority of really important mechanical resources. Education that reveals to men and women in the country the things in life really worth while will prevent a hankering after the peculiar experiences possible only in great cities. The education must, however, be of social character. It must loosen the artificial grip that commerce now has over the desires of people everywhere. Human wants need not be so exclusively material as for a century they have been. Indeed, the reaction against the tyranny that quantitative stimulation has been exercising, largely because of our social immaturity, has already appeared. We are in the throes of a struggle for democratic culture. This movement must finally lead to the popularizing of good taste. When public opinion is equal to the discrimination required by modern applied science and can discover how to use machinery without being deluded by it, there must come a reconstruction in the ranking of human pleasures. This reform, which the very stability of society requires, will restore to the rural environment in reasonable degree its peculiar and wholesome appeal.

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## DEVELOPMENT SURVEYS: RURAL AND FINANCIAL.

### *Part One.*

#### SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A NATIONAL POLICY FOR AGRICULTURE.<sup>1</sup>

##### I.

THE first and greatest fight of the agricultural reformer in England and countries similarly situated is over the question whether anything material can be done for the safety of the nation in time of emergency; whether the country can be made to grow a material part, if not the whole, of its foodstuffs. Is it worth while fussing over a few thousands or even hundreds of thousands acres more or less of home grown food? Will that materially alter the problem of transport and independence in time of war?

Those who tend to think only in terms of industries and towns do not see that a little more or less, one or two million quarters of wheat, makes any serious difference. Frankly they are more inclined to view the question as academical, as some philanthropic fad, not as a primary and vital matter. They are resigned in advance to see the country irremediably obliged to import most of its food and, perhaps, incidentally to make a little money over it.

The second problem is mainly sociological: it concerns the internal physiology of the nation. Can the balance between urban and rural populations be re-established? Each with its own virtues and specific qualities. Can agriculture be revived on a sound economic basis? Essentially the problem comes to this:

What is the land fit for? How much of it is available for profitable agriculture? How can it best be utilized? And incidentally what opportunity does it offer for returned soldiers and sailors who cannot or are unwilling to be absorbed by industry?

Unfortunately agriculturists are rather handicapped in answering these questions. They may have seen with their own eyes that the country may be made nearly independent, and that the question looms large; but they are quite unable to base their conclusions on statistics or reliable data. Some, like Dr. Russell, dare not publicly put their estimates of the possible new wheat area at above 600,000 acres or so per annum. Others talk of millions and millions of acres.

1. An abstract of this paper was published in the *Sociological Review*, Vol. xii, No. 1, 1920.

Going through official documents or books on agriculture, one is struck by the divergence of opinions as to the acreage of land capable of coming under the plough. Nobody is able to form an even approximate estimate. The truth is there is no real basis for even a guess at it.

The best that can be done apparently is to go back to the arable area in the sixties or seventies. There is no need to emphasize the arbitrary character of that basis in estimating the redeemable area of arable. It is only necessary to consult the agricultural history of the land as outlined by Dr. Gilbert Slater. It is clear from this that to pretend to take as a starting point for the conversion of ploughland to grassland and for the estimation of arable land any time after the completion of the last Enclosure Act or any date in the sequence of seven centuries, is futile. Even if we were to revert to the Domesday Book, we should not have a sure basis for knowing what was ploughed in England at one time, less still what might be profitably tilled in future.

It is not necessary to presume that during any period all the land was under the plough. Much undoubtedly was timbered, or grazed. Much was farmed unprofitably. The population was extremely small in comparison with the present one. Nevertheless, a good deal of land must have been cultivated that was fit for the plough and has reverted to grass and conversely.

What is obvious is that nobody knows the extent to which the land may be cultivated by basing statistics on any ploughed area at any given time during the last eight centuries.

Now we cannot say what ought to be done unless we know what extent of land we have at our disposal. And since reliable data is lacking we have no means of knowing that without carrying through a preliminary survey. It is quite futile to confuse scientific calculations with astute guesswork.

## II.

Mr. Benchara Branford in his remarkable book, "A New Chapter in the Science of Government," puts the question in a nutshell when he says that the new policy must have a functional woof and a geographical warp. If this is the case, as seems probable to the writer, we are in the singular position of having a woof but no warp, and so cannot proceed usefully to weave our web.

Now in spite of the fact that we have a vast amount of resources available for an agricultural reconstruction how is it so little is done, that no far-reaching policy is planned? How is it that agriculture does not revive? Of course we are yet to see the effects of the new prices of 95 and 100 shillings a quarter of wheat. But

even if this leads to a revival of interest in wheat growing, perhaps to a relative prosperity of some 200,000 farmers, it is but a side issue, one of the problems.

All the materials are on the spot, and yet the house does not rise. The materials remain idle. Why? Largely because they are scattered, unrelated, unconnected, unsystematised. They are but the woof. The warp is wanting. The web cannot be made. What is the warp? *Regionalism*.

We want to bring together all those functional resources, but on the basis of agricultural geography, of agricultural regions, on the one hand, and on more effective centralisation on the other.

The two terms of centralisation and regionalism are not contradictory or even opposed. They are reciprocating elements in a single process, as Mr. Benchara Branford insists. Both movements of integration and analysis are indeed complementary.

But it should be evident that there cannot be a real integration of the wrong units. There cannot be a genuine adjustment or organisation of parts which are purely artificial, and have no real entity or individuality. What can be had on such a basis of the actual political units—counties, parishes? It is perhaps not impossible to quote parishes or counties that have a natural basis, that form a natural ensemble. But on the whole, such units are purely arbitrary and artificial, not geographical or natural.

Before you synthetise, you must analyse. The analysis must be in terms of natural regions and districts. The Ecological Society is making efforts to define such natural regions. But the true basis of a definition of regions of man's work and life is the Agricultural Survey for whose institution the present paper is a plea.

Political or administrative units which cut across natural units or regions, severing common interests and solidarities, may have been all right in times past when consciously or unconsciously the shibboleth of Government was: *Divide et impera* and the main aim was political domination. But with a new conception of Government the tangle becomes simply bewildering when one is confronted not with one patchwork of purely arbitrary and artificial divisions, but with about a score or so of similar patchworks, all equally unreal and fanciful, all products of ultra-specialized departmental isolation, including agricultural education, the Post Office, the Labour Exchange, Food Commissioners, Coal Commissioners, Live Stock Commissioners, Ministries of National Service, Education, Health and War, Petty Sessional Divisions, Rural Districts, Registration, Parliamentary, Administrative, etc.<sup>1</sup>

1. Cf. "Devolution: A Regional Movement." By H. J. Peake. *Sociological Review*, Vol. xi, no. 2, 1919.



Here, then, are a multitude of patchwork administrative areas without *liaison*, and without solid basis. For various purposes, a man or an area may be in twenty several and disconnected divisions, which have no possible inter-relation at any level or stage, except at Westminster. How can economy and efficiency be realised in this apotheosis of Red Tape?

But a new confusion has arisen out of the fact that many fervent protagonists of regionalism, while referring to geographical regions or provinces, simply mean the time-honoured, if in most cases equally artificial, counties, boroughs or parishes.

It should be borne in mind that these are not in any sense geographical or natural divisions, and that no advantage will accrue from devolution on such bases, even were it possible. The real basis of regionalism is to be found in the natural environment, climate and soil, topography and rock, vegetation and agriculture, as determining and expressed in human activities and products, and their historical and social consequences. But this bears no relation to county or borough boundaries, or to divisions based on the amount of population or any other similar consideration.

The provinces, regions and *pays*, as suggested and outlined by H. J. Peake, certainly come nearer to the true geographical conception of the word region, but it seems necessary after all to go back to the lines defined by William Marshall, the founder of the Board of Agriculture at the end of the 18th century, and to develop them and bring them up to date. *Regionalism*, I submit, is the foundation of a new geographical distribution. Regionalism cannot be arrived at by any other method than an Agricultural Survey, which ascertains what can be done and what is done with each plot of land, which defines what kind of activity man can best develop within a given natural environment, what is or should be the natural avocation of each part of the land, what are its special economic and social interests, what type of occupation, mode of living, working, mode of thinking and feeling of its inhabitants, actual and possible.

Once regionalism is properly defined and established, people with a common habitat and environment, with common or complementary activities and interests and needs, sentiments and affections, thoughts and feelings and institutions, will be reunited by a common bond of solidarity. They may be made conscious of it. And out of a greater attachment for their region a new feeling of citizenship may arise and flourish, a basis for that greater citizenship which arises when the people of one unit or one region more clearly realize their interdependence and relationship with other similar units, as the several but interdependent organs of a single body. Then it will be possible to integrate and organise those

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Political or administrative units which cut across natural units or regions, severing common interests and solidarities, may have been all right in times past when consciously or unconsciously the shibboleth of Government was: *Divide et impera* and the main aim was political domination. But with a new conception of Government the tangle becomes simply bewildering when one is confronted not with one patchwork of purely arbitrary and artificial divisions, but with about a score or so of similar patchworks, all equally unreal and fanciful, all products of ultra-specialized departmental isolation, including agricultural education, the Post Office, the Labour Exchange, Food Commissioners, Coal Commissioners, Live Stock Commissioners, Ministries of National Service, Education, Health and War, Petty Sessional Divisions, Rural Districts, Registration, Parliamentary, Administrative, etc.<sup>1</sup>

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Once regionalism is properly defined and established, people with a common habitat and environment, with common or complementary activities and interests and needs, sentiments and affections, thoughts and feelings and institutions, will be reunited by a common bond of solidarity. They may be made conscious of it. And out of a greater attachment for their region a new feeling of citizenship may arise and flourish, a basis for that greater citizenship which arises when the people of one unit or one region more clearly realize their interdependence and relationship with other similar units, as the several but interdependent organs of a single body. Then it will be possible to integrate and organise those

natural units and weld them into more comprehensive administrative and political units.

This principle was really at the bottom of the location of many important agricultural schools and colleges, *e.g.*, of Wye for Kent, of Chelmsford for East Anglia, of Cirencester for the Upper Thames region, of Reading and Aberystwyth and others which I shall not attempt to enumerate. Indeed it never can be absent from the mind of true agriculturists.

Regionalism will vitalize all those functional elements and resources that are inchoate. It will define their aims and functions, make their work more concrete, and bring them in closer touch with realities.

Each region will feel more keenly interested alike in its environment, geology and subsoil, in its climate and botany, in its work of engineering, drainage, reclamation, improvements; in its specific needs of breeds and seeds, of treatment of soil, of cropping and economics, of pathology, etc. Such institutions of research, experiment and teaching will be vitalized by having their task at once more concrete and in more intimate touch with life and work, and common local needs. They will also respond to the moral and material interest of the regional community, and benefit by a closer inter-relation of research and practical experience.

In such a manner also, occupationalism as expressed in Trades-Unions, Guilds, syndicates and financial groups, which tend to cut across all geographical, local, or national interests, will be duly moderated and take a better perspective view of things. The basis of all this, I repeat, is the Agricultural Survey.

### III.

There are a great many returns on production and the value of the land. The excise officers, the land valuers, have accumulated mountains of documents coming from land-owners, farmers, and smallholders of every sort. Unfortunately they are all in the form of columns and tables of figures, occasionally also of graphs and diagrams, and all these columns and figures do not speak to the mind, do not enable anyone to make a synopsis, far less a synthesis, to visualise or realise the actual situation. They are dissevered from their causes and origins, of situation, environment, etc. What we really need is a map of utilization of the land, showing how each parcel is actually used; a statistical map.

In this sense, the greatest approximation so far reached on any scale is a sketch or succession of sketches made by Sir Daniel Hall and Dr. Russell for Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. They show by means of stipples the proportion of acres devoted to various crops,



such as wheat, potatoes, mangels, and hops. But they are more in the nature of charts. I have had no opportunity to see the maps made in Nottinghamshire by the County Councils or those made by Norfolk by some of the staff of the Cambridge School of Agriculture. The only effort to my knowledge made in the direction of a map is the isolated effort of Mr. C. C. Fagg for Croydon, on the one-inch scale, and for the parish of Downe, on the six-inch scale. They are only the utilisation part of a long series of maps, geological, topographical, climatic, botanical, historical, even occupational and sociological, which were carried through in the first stages of the war under the greatest difficulties. I have no doubt that similar maps exist for estates locked up also in the desks of bailiffs, stewards, surveyors and landowners. But one thing may be certain, namely, that they are unstandardized, unrelated, and in general, difficult of use, if available at all.

Now, the mode of using agricultural land varies from year to year, according to the rotations or ideas of the holder or occupant, and such maps ought to be made every year for four or five years, in order to give a complete idea of the use of the land. Once in possession of each datum, there should be no real difficulty in expressing synoptically on one map the use to which the land is put. The process of recording these facts could appreciably be shortened by enlisting the help of owners and farmers. The utilization map of the parish of Downe is the result of a total of twelve hours of work by Mr. Fagg. But I do not offer this figure as that of the time in which everybody or the average surveyor may do it in. First, Mr. Fagg had in hand an excellent method which he had contrived himself and of which he was a master. As against this, however, I have it from Mr. Fagg that many questions besides that of putting down what he saw, occupied his time and attention. The author, I understand, submitted his scheme to the Board of Agriculture. As for the stock, again I have it from Mr. Fagg, who devoted a great deal of thought to the subject, that, albeit delicate, the problem is by no means insuperable, and that he has devised means of arriving at an approximation probably greater than that obtained by other means.

But let us go a step further. What we really need for constructive purposes is a productivity map. We cannot take it for granted that all the land is properly utilized, according to its best capacity, nor can we take it as a postulate that the yield of every acre is the best that can be had. There is farming and farming, and from official testimony, one may be sure that there are enormous wastes on most farms and beyond this a good deal of productive land goes to waste.

We want to approach the question just as a skilled and

scientific, yet systematic, agriculturist would when he has recently got hold of an estate and sets to himself the problem of making the most of it. He would first, even before buying, survey it carefully, each and every parcel of it, examine and study its lie, slope, aspect, exposure, the drainage, natural and artificial, the rock, subsoil and soil, have it analysed; see what each and every plot of land can be adapted for, estimate roughly its yield. He would then sit down and plot all this on a map and take a synoptic view of the problem, having regard to adjacent interests, facilities of access, roads and drainage, and so forth, balancing and altering the various parts so as to fit his various needs. He would then organize and *plan* his fields, roads, and buildings for a maximum of practical efficiency in handling.

Doubtless the problem of the individual owner is infinitely simpler than that of a nation, in proportion as the various needs and interests of a nation transcend individual necessities and interests. But the process of systematic planning is essentially the same, in the sense that the basis is the productivity map. What can be best done with each part and parcel of the land?

We thus come to the conception of a double survey:—

1. A utilization survey, recording statistically what is actually done with the land.
2. A productivity survey, recording the best potential use of the land with a view to a maximum production.

The first to be carried on by the ordinary surveyor with a working knowledge of agriculture and the land.

The second to be worked out by a staff of experienced, scientific, and progressive agriculturists. They could be worked out in combination or simultaneously.

Then, and only then, is the situation ready for the sociologist and economist, and a third series of investigations, with a view to formulating social policy, could be instituted. Once in possession of such data synoptically presented, the sociologist would step in to spot, locate and combine all the common, complementary or conflicting interests. There is not only the question of food supply, but that of industry, of afforestation, of grazing, of sports and games, of housing and health, of social amenities, including historical interests, public or official needs, etc.

Into the sociological side of rural planning, at once so delicate and controversial, I do not propose to enter. My point is to suggest that the sociologist or statesman should have a solid and concrete basis of data, presented in a synthetic, working and suggestive way, and I submit that the double survey here outlined is necessary, indeed urgent, and that without it no serious work can be hoped to be undertaken.

## IV.

I now wish to illustrate the practical bearings of the double agricultural survey, by taking one by one the various aspects of the Land Question as found in the *Report of the Land Enquiry Committee* of 1913.

1. *Small Holdings.* We read that "in certain districts holdings under 50 acres are the economic units, just as in other districts holdings of 500 to 1,000 acres are the economic units."

This is quite sound. But how are we to know those various districts unless on the basis of a productivity or potential survey, survey No. 2, as outlined above?

2. *The Wage Question.* I have no wish to be controversial. The fact is, that a minimum wage for farm labourers has been studied, perhaps enacted, by the Wage Board. The result is sure to be in many cases that farmers will prefer to convert their land into grass rather than risk the increased expenditure involved, and the uncertainty of new conditions. This may be sound business from the standpoint of the individual farmer. But it may be the nation's business to see that land is not converted into grass or otherwise wasted, should it be proved that that land could produce three or four times or more foodstuffs by a reform of farming and business methods on modern lines of efficiency. I do not wish to advocate this or the other policy or to take sides. At the same time, I may recall that it has been pointed out by more than one writer, and in more than one official report, that land ownership is in the nature of a monopoly, just as coal-mine ownership, and the interest transcends that of private ownership and is the whole nation's interest. The least that can be done is to put it on record that here is a portion of land valuable, but now lying practically idle and available in time of emergency. An Agricultural Survey would reveal such deficiencies and possibilities.

Again wages may vary from district to district according to the expenses of working the land and the possible returns from it. An Agricultural Survey would indicate the class of land.

3. *Rural Housing.* The number of cottages depends on the number of families not only actually on the land, but potentially to be employed or settled, whether as labourers or small holders or in any other capacity. This number of families again is largely a function of the productive potentiality of each natural district. This can only be ascertained and marked by a survey.

Again such a survey would be a necessary preliminary step to placing or locating the cottages, whether in groups of villages, or isolated, with due regard to health, convenience of work, utilization of land, amenities, and all other considerations.

4. The question of the *Access of agricultural labourers to the land, of allotments, small holdings.* These matters bear a clear

relation to the potentiality of the land as exhibited by an Agricultural Survey. Provision for increase of population and the settlement of sons and daughters should receive proper attention on the same basis.

Opportunities for settlers, ex-service men for instance and primarily, are now an absolutely unknown quantity. Whereas the Dominions are able to attract ex-soldiers and sailors and others by tangible offers, we are unable to say how many broad acres are available under one scheme or another, and where they are and what they are fit for. As I have attempted to show, computations of acres based on what was done in '70, in '50 or '15 are for the most part without value. We simply do not know. Is it not about time we had accurate knowledge?

5. *Acquisition of Land by the County Councils.* County Councils ought to know where are the particular districts best suited to their purposes, and how much land is available, and all particulars about it. How can they do it advisedly without a preliminary survey of the whole county? Or must they continue to buy in a haphazard manner or as opportunity offers?

6. To determine where and what *game* can be tolerated near agricultural areas, a survey is indispensable.

7. The length of tenure again is largely determined by the class of land, cost of working, initial improvements, etc., which are studied and expressed by the Agricultural Survey.

8. *State-aided Purchase.* To fix prices and rents requires some notion of the quality and situation of the land. Surely prices and rents, even in England, ought to bear some relation to the productivity and working of the land.

9. If it is proposed to set up *Land Courts* to fix fair prices and rents, to fix the length of tenure and appraise the value of improvements, what better, indeed what other, basis than an Agricultural Survey as outlined?

10. Similarly for the rating of sporting land and private amenity land, a fair basis is supplied by our survey.

11. Finally, as a solid ground for agricultural credit, two securities ultimately count; namely, character of the borrower and the potentiality of the land, and for the latter I see no other means of valuation on a large scale than an Agricultural Survey.

As a practical suggestion, what of applying that half million sterling recently earmarked for the land valuation staff to the object set forth above? It would be more than enough to launch such a survey as we propose. And since the five millions sterling consumed in that valuation are henceforth useless, why not at least take advantage of the best elements of the staff thus set in motion and apply them to this new task?

London,

MARCEL HARDY.



*Part Two.*

## A REGIONAL ECONOMY BASED ON REGIONAL SURVEYS.

To many the term Finance raises a somewhat alarming conception, as of a subject altogether too abstruse and mysterious for anyone but the life-long initiated to understand, or to deal with. But on close examination not a little of its mysteriousness turns out to be very much of the nature of a "bogy."

To begin with, one must avoid confusing Finance with money, or even banking, large subjects which are, however, portions, though essential portions of the machinery of finance. The clue to the understanding of Finance is to realise that it is concerned chiefly with determining the end to which this machinery shall be used, and then assuring its application to this end. What purpose shall the machinery of credit be made to serve? *That* is the financier's first question. And since money is merely an index of and a claim on resources, the practical question is how shall the available resources be utilized in an agreed scheme of action.

What Finance, as a technique, has to deal with is the disposal of resources for further development, and the customary name for these collective resources is Capital. The assumptions made or implied are first that the capital shall be used to produce the maximum return from the economic standpoint, and secondly (more dubiously), that the social value of the produce is justifiable.

Now the practice of finance being what it is, and business men being what they are, can we assume that what is by them judged most desirable on economic grounds will prove of the greatest social value, and conversely, that what is of the highest social value will appear worth while to financiers and entrepreneurs? Merely to state these questions is to make a criticism, not only of current financial practices, but also of much that passes for sound theory on the subject. For whilst there are many workers and students in the field of finance, such a co-ordination and appraisal of their work and their studies has not yet been reached which would raise the subject to the level of a science. The evidences of confusion on this subject are on every hand. A well-known City magnate, speaking the other day, wound up a homily on politics, education, industry, and morals, by saying, "Capital is simply the surplus savings set aside to produce more wealth; and to consume it instead of conserving it is the quickest of all roads to ruin." Yet every accountant knows, and every balance sheet tells, that the capital of a given business is the sum of all its resources at any given moment of time, and knows too that to conserve it without consuming it is of all roads whatsoever the surest to ruin. A cynic indeed might be pardoned for interpreting the homily as meaning that all the resources which our magnate and his friends can obtain control of are capital, and will be wisely invested as such by them,

But to do Lord Inchcape justice, his point, whether he knows it or not, is, I think, *intended* to be this, that in the consumption of resources there should be two objectives: (a) the production of more wealth, and (b) the maintenance and even the raising of the standard of life; and that to these objectives the whole mind and energies of the nation should be devoted.

If then we admit as an essential objective of Finance the maintenance, and even the raising of the standard of life, Finance now appears, no longer as merely a means by which individuals or corporate businesses are assisted to the appropriation of profits, but as nothing more nor less than the science of directing the collective energies towards national well-being. In other phrasing, Finance might be defined as the science of the mobilization of Life-energies, hence the term Social Finance as the title under which this paper was originally read.

But, it will be asked, how is this view of Finance and its purpose to be given effect to, even if the argument be conceded? That, to be sure, is one of the largest and most difficult of questions. All that one can here attempt is to indicate a few of the ways in which a real co-ordination of energies may be directed through Finance towards the social ends.

Take as an instance of a more Social Finance, that of supplies for the war through which we have just passed. There the urgent objective of winning the war swept aside all the ordinary business rules and conceptions that seemed to stand in the way. Every energy was bent to producing what was required towards that end regardless of whether the product could be sold at remunerative prices. No doubt there was extravagance both in production and in use, but all war is extravagant, and the main point to observe is that the largest practicable output of goods and services was brought about without any limitation by the pecuniary claims of individuals. It will be said, "Yes, but look at the cost! Look at what we are now having to pay!" The reply is that the war has already been paid for in energies since the necessary goods and services have already long ago been forthcoming. [What now vexes us are really the attempts at present being made to allocate to each of us our share in replacing goods and services which were used up in the war.] Had the financing of ruined Europe with goods and services towards constructive ends been as wholeheartedly entered upon by the belligerent nations at the conclusion of the war, as was the financing of the war itself towards its destructive ends, I do not think we should now be faced by the problem of whole populations starving and disheartened, and with a constant menace of new wars. We should at least have had the satisfaction of seeing some concrete return for the energies so expended, perhaps even something towards that indemnity over the amount and

apportionment of which the Council of the Allied Nations was recently squabbling.

Similarly, had our housing problem been tackled in a like spirit a practicable solution must have been found; for is not the proper housing of the workers in peace time as important to their industrial efficiency as their adequate cantonment in war is to their military efficiency?<sup>1</sup>

The objective of an improved standard of life calls then for a similar change from the conception of business as subordinating the job-in-hand to individual claims for profit, to the conception of first of all getting the job-in-hand done. Indeed there is a strange inability of those who are preaching increased production to see that any national effort in this direction must have an improved standard of life as its objective, and that this is by no means certain if production is subordinated to individual claims for profits. Their inability to see this is clearly the reason why the appeal of these people has been received so coldly by Labour throughout the country. That the pursuit of individual profit and the achievement of social ends are parts of one harmonious process was assumed by the earlier economists. But it is now questioned on all sides, and not least by the more thoughtful economists. Some economists, indeed, make precisely the contrary assumptions. In the words of a well-known writer on Economics: "It is plain enough that the discrepancy between productive capacity and current productive output can readily be corrected, in some appreciable degree at least, by any sufficient authority that shall undertake to control the country's industrial forces without regard to pecuniary profit and loss. Any authority competent to take over the control and regulate the conduct of the community's industry with a view to maximum output as counted by weight and tale, rather than by net aggregate price-income over price-cost, can readily effect an appreciable increase in the effectual productive capacity; but it can be done only by violating that democratic order of things within which business enterprise runs. The several belligerent nations of Europe showed in the war that it can be done, that the sabotage of business

1. As evidence of an attempt towards what might be called a more direct finance, notice the action taken by the Housing Guild in Manchester. In effect the financiers have said, "We have no money to give for housing, since it offers no profit." To which the Housing Guild replies: "We do not propose either to give profit, or to ask the financier for money. We can get bricks and mortar on credit, we will ourselves do the work; financial services would, in the situation, be superfluous, and profit, therefore, an overcharge." It will be observed that the policy of the Guild is based on the elemental fact that it requires certainly no more bricks and practically no more man-hours now to build a house than it did before the War. Further, as a significant beginning in the discrimination between social and unsocial purpose, note the recent restrictions by the Ministry of Health in regard to what is called "luxury building."

enterprise can be put aside by sufficiently heroic measures. And they also showed that they are all aware, and have always been aware, that the conduct of industry on business principles is incompetent to such a degree indeed as not to be tolerable in a season of desperate need, when the nation requires the full use of its productive forces, equipment and man-power, regardless of the pecuniary claims of individuals."

Without going all the way with this particular professor of Economics (who by the way is no socialist, not even of the chair, but among the keenest critics of socialism), one might still declare that "the season of desperate need" is no less with us now that the war is over. Indeed, we are being told by many high authorities in industry and politics that without the maximum effort of production we shall inevitably go under in the race of nations. Whether these same high authorities are prepared to constitute themselves "a competent authority" and to undertake to control the country's industrial forces without regard to profit and loss, is quite another question. But on this question of maximising the output, as on all others, dogma must be put sternly aside. In any scientific discussion of finance, the approach must be along the line of practical investigation.

First and foremost it is essential to map out the ground to be covered. What are :

- (a) The material resources to be developed ;
- (b) the objectives for which the development of these resources are required ;
- (c) the resources of human labour which can be brought to bear upon that development ?

Assuming, therefore, our problem to refer to a definite area—we shall require to know everything we can of :

- (a) the resources of that area, namely :
  - its geology (soil and minerals) ;
  - climate ;
  - water supply ;
  - vegetation.

(In a word a complete mapping of all the relevant physical features.)

- (b) the characteristic industries and occupations to which the area gives rise ;
- (c) the resulting conditions of human existence, the race or type and their characteristics and capabilities and their social customs.

A mere collection of such statistical information will of course be of very little use. It must be summarized in graphic form and presented as Economic Maps, designed and schematized for the purpose in view. Dr. Marcel Hardy has called attention to various initiatives in this direction in his paper on a "National

Policy in Agriculture." And in urging the need for such maps, he pointed out that such statistical graphs or maps must be supplemented by others showing possible developments.

To make such a survey should, from the business standpoint, be the most elementary piece of common sense, but certainly nothing so comprehensive has as yet been attempted, or even suggested by the financial world. The reason for this lack of commonsense procedure is perhaps to be sought in the mental reaction of habitually seeking individual profit. But even on the ground of economic working this conception of individual profit as the main objective is found to be wasteful in such practical investigations as have been carried out by competent observers. In a recent "survey of waste" made by an American engineer of high repute the actual fraction of the energy in all the coal mined in America that gets used in the industrial process, was found to be incredibly small. Nevertheless the colliery business in America is presumably willingly assisted by the financier, provided each individual business can show a profit on its job. To complete and complement the survey of coal wastage there is needed in commonsense procedure a further survey estimating, *e.g.* the saving of time, money, and life to be found by the consumption of coal at the pit, turning it into electric power on the spot, and distributing it by cable.

I know I shall be told that the capital involved in the existing defective methods would be destroyed, if the recommendations of the commonsense surveys and reports were carried out, and I have some sympathy with the point of view of the so-called vested interest, but if vested interests cannot altogether be prevented from arising, surely the financier should see to it that due provision by sinking fund or otherwise, is made against this form of obsolescent capital.

Good finance is not concerned with any attempt to preserve dead assets, or to obtain for itself the largest amount of commissions. The secret of good finance is the employment of the very minimum of energies consistent with the efficient attainment of the object in view. But withal even a finance which is non-wasteful in its methods may still be harmful if utilized with other object than the maintenance or the raising of the standard of life. Now, as biologists tell us, life results from the interaction of environment and organism; and applying this principle in a social sense, we may say that "the good life" only comes about when the human organism interacts vividly along the whole social scale, running through home, village, town, city, region, up to the widest limits of the community. And consideration of these interactions is clearly an integral element in Social Finance.

Thus given our definite area or region to be developed, we have



seen that an exhaustive stock-taking is necessary as an essential preliminary. When this has been done, we shall have before us a comprehensive mapping of the existing conditions, and of their interaction, the area in all its aspects giving rise to its own characteristic occupation, and these modifying and being modified at every step by the people according to their racial and personal characteristics.

Our task then is :

- (1) To study each area, its occupations, and its people and to organize these in the most comprehensive and efficient manner, constantly developing new lines of activity as these are suggested by experience and study.
- (2) Next to organize the inter-relation of different areas and community groups and to co-ordinate the whole.
- (3) As an ultimate and necessary sequel to co-ordinate the still larger geographical areas and communitary groupings so organized.

Our survey will at the very outset make apparent that in every area each characteristic occupation has its own characteristic type of finance. For in reality the whole matter is intimately bound up with the question of exchange of goods and services, and can only be effectively studied in relation to these.

Take as an instance the business of farming. The financial needs of the farmer are in the main enclosed within the compass of the year extending from harvest to harvest, and are seldom of longer interval between expenditure and return. But different types of farming again differ within this compass. The farmer who is growing wheat or other corn crops mainly, has to face the expenditure for seed, manures, and labour in the winter and spring, and for labour during the summer and autumn, and until harvest is reaped he is practically without any income from which to meet these expenses. On this basis the curve of his financial requirements shows a steady rise for approximately eleven months of the year against an income concentrated into one month of the year. The curve thus shows sharply marked extremes which the financier must take into account in any considerable dealings with the farming industry. But if we take the case of the dairy farmer we find a markedly contrasted set of conditions. Against a more or less regular expenditure for feeding-stuffs and labour, he customarily receives a regular fortnightly or monthly payment for the sale of milk. As a consequence the curve of his financial requirements shows no such marked extremes, but only very slight rises and falls.

The financial difficulties of the first-named type of farming due to the extremes mentioned are well known and have many undesirable results, not the least of these being that crops have often to be realized far below their value. But the second case indicates one of

the ways in which these extremes may be avoided and the farmers' finances stabilized. I suggest in fact that the survey and study which I am urging should lead to the social financier insisting in such a case on the development of every possible supplementary resource, as an obvious economy of finance.

That this is in the line of the most recent scientific theory and practice in agriculture is instanced by the systems of "continuous cropping" and "soiling" so-called, the economic effectiveness of which is now fully established.

Again, take the finance of the farm labourer (though perhaps he has hitherto scarcely been regarded as a subject worthy of the attention of the financier!). Much discussion has centred round the question of a minimum wage. I confess, whilst in every way willing that the condition of the farm labourer should be improved, I have every sympathy with the farmer who is asked to pay these higher wages. The occupations of the farm are subject, according to the type of farming, to more or less violent extremes of employment and unemployment, a fact which has no doubt largely determined the hitherto low rates, and to pay greatly increased wages may be quite truly a wholly uneconomic proposition.

Yet a wage which the occupation can economically pay, being duly proportioned to the labour which it requires and employs, may be wholly inadequate from the standpoint of the labourer, from the fact that the occupation restricts his market, or affords him only a very partial market for the labour he has to sell. We have thus to organize a market for his surplus labour if he is to be enabled to improve his standard of living. An improvement may so far be effected by a re-organization of the farm itself under the more intensive methods above referred to. But the life and occupations of the farm no more cover the whole of the activities of a district than the farm itself. Thus the re-organization has to be planned, not of individual or detached farms merely, but in relation to some larger unit which should be determined by geographical, physical and other considerations. Such divisions will include the varied characteristics and conditions which determine the life of the resident community as a whole, and thus an economy, not of the farm alone, but of the area has to be worked out. Thus arises the idea of a Regional Economy and the corresponding Regional Finance. The financing of the farmer and his labourer plainly necessitates this wider view, and suggests an organized co-ordination of the activities of the community, a bringing of its whole available energies into touch with the work which it requires to be done, as well as the organizing of fresh outlets for these energies. Herein, for instance, lies one of the principal benefits of the revival of rural industries of all kinds, in that they provide an outlet for surplus energies, and in return a surplus income.

It is of the essence of the process that not only can this fitting in be carried out within one occupation, but also as between different occupations, and moreover in widening circles till we pass from the Region to the Nation, and beyond. There is, as we are so often reminded, an International Finance, and this, taken at its best, is a rough or ready adjustment to crude empirical International Economy.

As an indispensable preliminary to all this, the idea of survey must again be insisted upon, survey not only in detail, but in broad outline also. A suggestive survey of the latter type is Prof. Fleure's book, in the "Making of the Future Series," on "Human Geography in Western Europe" with its very illuminating divisions of (a) Regions of Increment, (b) Regions of Effort, and (c) Regions of Difficulty; markedly in contrast to the prevailing political and racial divisions which so often conceal or confuse the essential facts. For any comprehensive plan of financial and economic re-construction, a mapping out of the ground on these lines is of fundamental importance, suggesting as it does the possible interplay of one region with another, and the co-ordination of all. For after all the main business of Finance is the organizing of markets and a chain of clearing houses. (As an instance of what has been done in this way and well worthy of study, I may refer to the systematic organization of Agriculture in Germany before the war.) From one point of view, then, Finance appears as concerned in finding or organizing markets.

Lest any misapprehension should arise owing to my having drawn upon agriculture for illustrations, let me say here that I am by no means overlooking the need for a similar re-organization in regard to industries and towns. Whilst I have taken Agriculture as the basal industry, the need for organizing and integrating the manifold specialisms in industry is no less urgent. All that is manifestly implied in the idea of a Regional Economy, based on Regional Surveys.

To take but one instance analogous to that of the farm labourer, we are now too familiar with the ever-recurring demands for a minimum wage, and the almost daily requests for a fresh raising of that minimum irrespective of its economic possibility in relation to the specific industry involved. How can this be met unless by a scientific organizing of industry as a whole? Nor should the matter stop there. It is essential that the re-organization should take an even wider view, and that the conventional separation between town and country, between agriculture and industry should so far cease to exist, and these two complementary and mutually essential activities be brought into a genuine co-ordination.

To deal with this aspect of the subject in detail, however, would be entirely beyond the scope of this paper. It is vividly touched

upon by Kropotkin in his "Fields, Factories and Workshops," a book which is, I believe, little remembered, but which would amply repay a fresh study at the present time.

I hope then that I have said enough to make clear the rôle I suggest for the financier which sees him as an estimator of potential values directing and co-ordinating the corresponding energies, and thus the arbiter of the distribution of resources, but no longer as exploiter or free lance, but rather as Field Marshal guiding and directing the movements of an army organized for the definite purpose, not of loot, but of the conquest of Nature for the service of the race.

JOHN ROSS.

### *Part Three.*

#### MENTAL RE-ACTIONS.

Is it not of greater importance than is usually recognized, to emphasize the psychological point of view in discussions of Finance? What is the mental reaction of finance on all of us ordinary people of the current type of our day? In the result is not our attention too much directed towards the possibility of "making some money," as the phrase goes, by hearing of "a good thing" and acting on the news, and generally by obtaining a rise in capital value without effort? This is I believe called the "science of investment." In so far as these impulses operate, our attention is to a smaller or greater extent distracted from the attempt to do better work (and so enrich ourselves and the community too) towards getting some money out of other people by this "sound system of investment."

It is difficult to estimate what proportion of modern "capital" represents past savings, and what proportion represents mere claims on future output with no corresponding present assets, but admittedly there is a proportion of the latter kind, *e.g.* all the war debt and possibly (as many believe) an appreciable proportion of capitalized commercial values. This possibility of creating claims with no corresponding present assets constitutes a temptation to become clever in that kind of finance. All this tends to develop therefore an undesirable type of citizen and to make us all approximate in greater or less degree towards that type, in essence that of the gambler. It is perhaps in what is termed the "return for risk" that we must seek for the root of the process that inflates capital claims beyond the savings of thrift. It is suggested that all that element in the returns made to capital which it is claimed is the "return for risk" should be socialized, and for two reasons, the one psychological, the other economic. The psychological reason is that in this way we should divert attention from the chances of personal gain through speculation and leave men free to aim at gain through such methods as breeding better stock, and producing better goods, or doing better services to the community. The

economic reason is that if these risks are pooled on a sufficiently large scale they will cancel out and can be met by a low insurance rate.

Under such circumstances investments would be selected according to social considerations and not to the chances of personal gain. It would then be for the best minds of the district concerned in the managing of the district banks (to be set up, we will suppose, in accordance with Mr. Ross's Surveys) to decide what speculative risks are to be borne by that bank, perhaps under a still more comprehensive insurance system. Under such a system all the private person who has saved money would have to do, would be to let the district bank have it at a low rate of interest with the whole security of the district (and possibly still more comprehensive security) behind it.

How can we approximate towards such a state of things?

Can we not set on foot beside the old finance a new system which will work in this direction? There is in normal times a large amount of capital ready to be invested in anything that will give security with a comparatively low return. This security should be provided by a system of insurance and by arranging that the value of this capital be kept at par by making it possible to withdraw it, if not at any time, then over a period of years, so that no more say than one-tenth can be claimed during any one year. It should, however, be the *custom* to repay the whole investment of any individual when needed because under such a system nothing like one-tenth of the whole would be claimed in any year. The constant buying and selling for speculative purposes would be avoided, so that any investor who needed the money could practically be paid in full at any time.

So far for the psychological reaction on the investor and the method of dispensing with the speculator. We must consider what type of business is to be encouraged by the use of capital. Having agreed with the Socialists as to the socialization of the risks, let us next agree with the Individualists as to the desirability of a general distribution of private property within the capacity of each family to handle and manage. If the financiers whom we assume to be in charge of the District Banks set up after the surveys demanded by Mr. Ross are socialized in their outlook and have to meet the demands of a democratic local community, they will consider the field of investment from the point of view of the reaction of investments upon the happiness, wealth, and life of the whole community. They will therefore look out for investments which will tend to distribute these good things as far as possible over the whole community. Their practical aim will be to provide an environment that makes a full life possible to all. They will therefore encourage all forms of co-operative activity, they will provide for such things



as Housing, Small Holdings, Credit for Guilds, and above all, perhaps best of all, they will encourage inventors and discovery.

One of the worst features of the present system is the discouragement inventors meet—the difficulty they have in getting their inventions considered at all, much less suitably financed, and the not infrequent result that a new invention is bought up and suppressed by some firm interested in selling things produced less economically because its capital is locked up in obsolescent machinery.

The general accumulation of a common fund should be a charge on the profits of the District Banks. If they have, as would usually be the case, a margin beyond the needs of investment they would devote it to matters of local benefit which do not give a direct return, *e.g.* negotiations with owners for new footpaths in country districts. Has anyone reflected that, considering what a source of communal well-being and recreation we have in our footpaths through the fields in this country it is extraordinary that we are only allowed to use the remnant of those created in the middle ages or earlier whilst new ones are practically never dedicated to the public? Again, sums could be voted for the upkeep of derelict country-houses as parish clubs and of their gardens as common possessions. Sums could be devoted to the encouragement of music, dancing, and other forms of art.

There is a great treasury of profit and potential wealth which would in these ways be devoted to common purposes were it not either left dormant or devoted to the pleasures of a few. One of the many psychological reactions of all this would manifest itself when people made their wills, issuing it maybe in gifts to the local community comparable in time to those formerly made to the Monasteries.

The beginnings of such a system have long been sporadically at work in connection with various forms of the bettering of environment and of co-operation, but they have not been organized, developed and unified. But if those interested in the socialization of Finance would unite their efforts and develop on some such lines as those suggested, in connection with the co-operative movement and the Guild movement, they would surely enlist the support and sympathy of the churches and indeed of all people of goodwill, and the system thus adumbrated should grow till in course of time it overshadowed the present system, and became the typical finance of the country. It is open to people to try it. No special legislative enactments are required before starting such a system. It would be greatly helped by enlisting the support of existing co-operative organizations, but all it needs is a combination of people of goodwill and the help of business men who would like to promote a better and happier world.

SYBELLA BRANFORD.

## THE NEW CIVIC SPIRIT IN GERMANY.

THE New Germany will be the Old Germany deprussianized. This was the conclusion I reached during a tour through Central Europe, including Germany, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. By Old Germany I mean Germany under militarism and autocracy. The New Germany is the Social Republic that is rising from the ruins of financial, industrial and imperial Germany. To the close observer who enters Germany to-day the three most apparent things are demoralisation, recovery and discovery. If he is able to contrast the present with the past he will have no difficulty in determining the true origin and nature of these things. To begin with he will be aware of the gigantic strides forward that were made by Germany up to the beginning of the war, and of the promise to continue them now that the war is over. He will be aware too of the great difficulty that attended this particular kind of recovery owing to the serious attempt that has been made by Germany's opponents during the past five years to discredit all immediate pre-war advance in Germany by associating it with militarism. Such opponents allowed the war to blind them to the truth. The great truth is that militarism has nothing to do with advance. Certainly militarism existed in pre-war Germany. It was this, combined with autocracy, that formed the very odious national mixture which we may call Prussianism. And no one would deny that militarism went at a gallop in its own direction. Moreover, it is clear that, knowing the power exerted by politics, philosophy and science, the militarist-autocratic party contrived to evoke their aid as though convinced that their influence and assistance would be of the highest service both to the Party itself and its cause. Occasionally we come across pre-war forms of art and music through which the militaristic poison gas was conducted. By this means the said Party built up a very great system of military organisation and manufacture. It manufactured false ambition and false hope and false confidence in itself. It manufactured the greatest war machine the world has ever known, and it manufactured a great army most admirably equipped to serve some purpose or other the precise nature of which has perhaps to be determined. Some say it was for iniquitous world-conquest, others, to defend Germany against threatened encirclement. In any case all it has achieved is to prove that military organisation is not everything; and that it is opposed to the chief element of advance, righteousness. There-

fore if pre-war Germany was making an advance this trend was not in the direction of militarism.

The fact of the matter is that in pre-war Germany there were two vast organisations, if I may call them so, which practically divided the nation in two. There was the calculated notorious military organisation and there was the spontaneous Garden of Eden organisation. Germany was in fact a house with a dark and a bright side. Everywhere on the one side there was preparation for war, and everywhere on the other side there was a counteracting preparation for peace. By keeping the two sides distinct it is possible to trace the beginnings of a new unified and peaceful Germany under the old national ideal long before the war began, and to follow its growth and development under a new national ideal in the future. It first appeared as part and parcel of an intelligent proposal to produce the peaceful citizen in a peaceful environment under peaceful conditions of labour. In a word it was proposed to produce a creatively peaceful people by persuading men and women to lay aside their old wasteful and false civic habits and to put on new ones fashioned out of an intelligent conception of natural economy, the improved conditions of individual and social life, the elimination of poverty, the extirpation of disease, the elevation of legitimate play to a prominent place in the modern scheme of education and existence, and the formation of a rational attitude of mind of every citizen towards individual and social freedom to be won by the generous encouragement of the assertion of individual initiative and genius moving in the direction of creative endeavour and ultimate peace. Actually this movement worked wonders. No German city or town was without it. Science, commerce, industry, industrial and social institutions, schools, theatres, workshops, all felt its beneficial influence. There was a very great deal of evidence indeed to testify to the birth in Germany of a genuine civic pride. There is no doubt that a great number of German people were proud to devote their energies if not exclusively, then as far as possible, to the fascinating new game of citizen-making. They certainly believed that every thought and act to be nationally right should first of all be civically right. A mere reference to one branch of activity of the general civic movement will be sufficient to show how earnest and far-reaching was the endeavour to make things civically right. Many years before the war began Germany undertook to make it clear to its overcrowded city dwellers and industrial workers that a great principle, that which involved their health and the freest use of their faculties, was demanding to be applied, and that this principle, upon which rested the German housing reform, would lead them out of monstrous and indecent barracks and block dwellings into revitalis-

ing surroundings. Industrially, the principle was applied as early as 1863 by Krupp at Essen, who subsequently built over 4,000 dwellings housing some 30,000 persons. In 1871 Barmen started a society, and about 1884 came Pastor Bodelschwingh with his reforming efforts at Bielefeld to draw general attention to the subject. These steps, however, were but initial ones, according to a book that was handed to me by Herr Ludwig Degener, publisher, 15 Hospital Strasse, Leipzig. This book, an important and comprehensive summary of the Economic and Technical Aspects of the Garden City Movement (*"Wirtschaftliche und technische Gesichtspunkte zur Gartenstadtbewegung,"* Von F. Beil), contains a number of comparative tables giving the facts and figures of the housing and town-planning enterprises in various countries, Germany, England, America, and so on. It seems that between the early nineties and 1914 there were no less than 108 of these enterprises in Germany as against 33 in England. They are considered under three heads, capitalised undertakings, guild and co-operative undertakings and State, municipal and private undertakings. These bare figures hardly suggest the economic, social and occupational wonders worked in all parts of Germany by this particular current of the civic renaissance. But they are sufficient to suggest that if the thousands of millions that were spent in five years in taking life had been spent in saving life by civic means, that if the citizen had been more honoured than the soldier, the century of civic change upon which Germany has definitely entered would have come in quietly and naturally to continue its course uninterrupted. Instead the civic renaissance after monopolising the attention of some of the most significant German minds disappeared beneath the horrors of war and has now to be rescued with difficulty—but uninjured let us hope—from the wreckage of a mighty nation.

This wreckage is the outcome of the pre-war circumstances produced by the bad organisation, and is in many respects not to be associated with the altered conditions of to-day, seeing that these conditions have been born of an entirely different set of circumstances. Yet the lives of hundreds of thousands of German men and women are still, and will continue for some time to be affected by circumstances arising out of the pre-war financial, industrial and imperial period of activity. Thus the wreckage denotes both the present stage of demoralisation and the probable path of escape from that condition of slavery that was set up by the factors of demoralisation. In former days the maxim of Imperial Germany was that the nation should live partly in military barracks and partly at the counter, and all its transactions should be in terms of the Treasury and the counting house. Thus it gave everything a

gold value instead of an energy-credit value. The war has relieved the country of its gold and the change, in its consequence, amounts to a tragedy. One can see as one moves about Germany that the full effects of the alteration are being acutely felt by all who find themselves unable to compete successfully with the "money-changers" who are in possession of the wreck of the Temple, that is, the counting-house. In other words it is everywhere apparent that the war has turned money into a commodity, just as industrialism turned the worker into a commodity. It has driven energy into exile. In Germany energy, the most precious thing on earth, is worthless because there is no worthless money to pay for it. Money is exalted where alone energy should be. Money is bought and sold for profit. Individuals and groups organise solely to trade in money. This is the predominating factor of demoralisation. It is the cause of the inconceivable economic paralysis that spreads from the Rhine to the Urals. There never was a time, in Germany or in any other civilised country, when this factor of demoralisation had such opportunities open to it as it has now. And there never was a time when its work of demoralisation was so complete. Go where you will and there you will find cities and towns that were once living, progressive and prosperous, now dead, diseased and dirt-ridden. Berlin resembles a spectre engaged in a wild and whirling Apache dance. In Vienna one sees a profiteering Salome dancing before the decapitated corpse of this unfortunate city. Men and women always seem to go about in crowds, always packed together like herrings, always hungry, always struggling and fighting for existence. Everywhere there is dishonesty. It is a plague and no one seems to have escaped the plague. Gamblers, smugglers, thieves, liars, cheats are, and have been for many months past replacing honest persons by hundreds of thousands daily in all departments of German life. Central Europe is a kingdom swarming with robbers. The change is remarkable even in the most rare directions. It is common for individuals who have a high sense of morality to obtain one or more of the five essentials of life, food, clothing, shelter, transport and recreation by illegitimate means simply because in face of the destroyed function of money and their own inability to provide another legitimate means of exchange they must either do so or go without. In short under the printing press system of exchange morality no longer exists, and the evil results are seen in political, economic, industrial and social chaos. This deplorable situation admits of but one conclusion, that civilisation is governed by a vicious element from which there is no escape except by the substitution of a means of exchange that cannot be treated as a commodity.



Germany is then in a condition of economic and industrial paralysis, dishonoured in the eyes of other nations, oppressed, disunited and ill-administered. Yet it is manifesting such a vitality in the pursuit of art, drama, poetry and literature that one may believe it will survive and recover from so desperate a condition. Of course all who belong to the New Germany, the New Republic as it is called, are anxious to make this recovery. And I think they desire that a creative spiritual factor shall be its central greatness, that the Will to Create shall replace the Will to Power. At any rate they strongly desire to renew the spiritual uplift of the pre-war civic development, as it is capable of being renewed. When the general movement went underground certain manifestations of it remained in a modified form at the surface—and these survive. The basis of the reform—the background of nature—with its new type of people and work-place found in the many and varied garden city and suburb, industrial communes and villa colonies—is there. Some of the undertakings, for instance Marienbrunn at Leipzig, are unfinished and waiting for building material. Others, like the industrial commune at Hellerau, near Dresden, raised to front rank as a working model of what an industrial commune should be by its idealist working-man director, Carl Schmidt, are incomplete, waiting for the communists whose arrival the war has delayed. And all are capable of infinite expansion when they pass wholly into possession of the multitude of communists bred by the Revolution. It is noteworthy that this multitude includes every variety of thinker and worker, many of whom, especially wealthy business men, have discovered a human regard for natural surroundings. It seems that war and privation have taught them the useful lesson that little gardens may be cultivated to confer the utmost economic benefits even on the wealthy among themselves who happen to be unable to obtain food except by first producing it. So one of the sights in Germany to-day is the respectful attention bestowed by the superior classes upon their little allotments and poultry farms. Formerly it was the fashion for them to regard such things with horror and even denounce them as ridiculous play-things for the lower working class. Now they in turn are cultivating the earth.

This is one back-to-the-land development, and there are many more both in Germany and stricken Austria. Another that may be mentioned here is the effort that is being made with the help of Government to establish soldiers' colonies. A great number of soldiers who have returned home and were formerly employed in cities and towns, no longer want to live under the old stifling conditions. The open-air life of military service has given them a very necessary taste of nature and natural occupations. Their

demand for an opportunity to continue the new life is being met, and they are being provided not only with comfortable houses and allotments, but art and craft schools as rapidly as possible. The facts and figures of this Kriegerheimstätten movement, and particulars of the new ideas in garden suburb house building, are contained in Bodenreformer books published by the aforesaid Herr Ludwig Degener, Leipzig. In the picture thus presented we see the restoration of the background of nature, the renewal of natural labour, and all classes, including the wealthiest and most superior, claiming the title of self-supplier. Perhaps there is an incipient regionalism to be found in this breaking up into nature and industrial communes. But it should be said that the separation is not meant to be permanent. The puzzle of social life is being broken up only that its pieces may be fitted together in, let us hope, some more beautiful and lasting design. So the new civic spirit would seem to point to the recovery of creative function as the only possible means of exchange, and the discovery of the miraculous power of primal energy in man. It appears to say that so far as the New Germany is concerned Mars is dead, Plutus is in course of being dethroned, Ceres is ennobled on account of her agricultural interests, and the intelligent citizen is the Lord of Creation. In short the Age of Prussianism has been replaced by the Age of Germanity.

HUNTLY CARTER.

*Editorial Note.* The above paper by Mr. Huntly Carter, is one of four papers giving impressions of the new Germany, presented at a meeting of the Society on October 26. It is hoped to find room for the other three papers in the next number of the *Review*.

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### OBITUARY NOTICE.

It is with great regret that we have to announce the death of Captain Osman Newland. Captain Newland was an active and valuable supporter of the Society (of which he was a Life Member) from its early days. As a Member of Council he always showed keen interest in all the Society's activities, and did much for its welfare. He was the author of several books on sociology and kindred subjects.

Mrs. Osman Newland has been good enough to place at the disposal of the Society her husband's valuable sociological library for selection therefrom of such books as the Society may care to have.

## LEPLAY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

By DOROTHY HERBERTSON, B.A.

*(Continued.)*

## Chapter III.

## WANDER-YEAR.

"Afoot and light-hearted, I take to the open road."—Walt Whitman.

Leplay and Reynaud left Paris in the month of May, 1829. Their intention was to visit the mines, ironworks and forests of the districts between the Moselle, Meuse and Rhine, the North and Baltic Seas, and the mountains of the Erzgebirge, Thuringia and Hunsdruck. Their first duty, as travelling students of the School of Mines, was to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the mining districts of North Germany, and thus to complete their professional training. Their intention was to visit all such establishments connected with their profession as presented models to follow or dangers to avoid. To these they were to devote such time as might be required for the observation of all essential details and for drawing up such notes as would enable them to make a full and accurate report. In the second place, they were anxious to enter into relations as close as possible with the population of the districts visited in order to distinguish between social phenomena of merely local interest and those of a wider bearing. Finally, in each district they sought to become acquainted with the wisest and most experienced men in order to observe their practice and weigh their opinions of men and things. It was indeed an ambitious programme, and may well have made M. Becquey smile.

The journey was performed wholly on foot. Provided with a compass, and with no more luggage than sufficed for their simplest needs, they took the most direct route, by mountain, plain or forest as the case might be. The rest of their baggage, containing what they needed for their occasional intervals of city life and the ever-increasing pile of notes, was sent on to await them at the next place chosen for their headquarters. Thus they were singularly independent of the beaten track and were able to penetrate by routes otherwise inaccessible into out-of-the-way corners of the mining districts of North Germany.

Leplay was an ideal pedestrian. Though short, he was strongly built, and his muscles were of iron. He could eat anything, sleep anywhere and endure all weathers. At the end of a day of thirty or forty miles of hard walking he was still fresh and good-humoured and ready to make light of any discomfort. His sympathies were wide and generous, his manners pleasing, and wherever he went he made friends. Questions which would have seemed impertinent in a man of less tact gave no offence from him, and he readily obtained all the information he desired. If this appears exaggerated it should be remembered that he had been familiar from childhood with men of all classes and could talk intelligently to men of many different pursuits about their own work. His interest and skill in his own profession could be detected in everything he said, and his sincerity and frankness invited and won confidence. A man like this was not likely to be repulsed as an impertinent, inquisitive tourist.

The journey lasted seven months. During that time the two friends covered

more than 4,000 miles, walking the whole distance. The time was spent in halts for study near mines, works and other centres, or within reach of working-class families or persons of special knowledge; in excursions intended to complete such detailed studies by a general survey of the surrounding district; in geological excursions undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the distribution of mineral wealth; in the general study of particular localities or in rapid surveys of wider areas. Reynaud, as the senior student, undertook the general management of their very simple life. Nothing occurred to cloud their friendship, which only increased as they learned to know each other better. They found, however, that their programme was too wide. They saw that the social question was infinitely more complex than they had supposed, and decided to satisfy themselves with studying it instead of attempting to solve it. Their journey brought them into contact with institutions differing widely in character and yet apparently well suited to special conditions. Leplay was more than ever convinced that the true principles of social order were discovered long ago; Reynaud no less ardently clung to the belief that humanity was steadily progressing and that most changes were for the better. Neither convinced the other, and they returned more divided in opinion and more united in affection than ever.

If, however, they disagreed in the interpretation of the facts they were entirely at one as to the right method of investigation. They were convinced, as might have been expected from students trained in the rigorous scientific methods of the School of Mines, that the study of social science, like the study of every other science which aims at precision of data, must be based on observation. In this faith Leplay never wavered. "The conclusion to which I came," he writes, "was that this science, like those taught in the curriculum of our science schools, must be based, not on *a priori* conceptions, but on the methodical observations of facts and on the inductions of a rigorous logic. I began to seek the laws of social science in the knowledge of social facts." The material, he believed, was there if the observer knew how to use it. "Social science," he wrote, "can be based on surer foundations than history, for all the ages of the social world are actually alive for us at the present time." This, however, was later, after his eventful life had brought him into contact with a certain society which had changed nothing since the days of Abraham.

His journey to the Hartz and the Saxon plain, therefore, did three things for him. In the first place, it confirmed his attachment to his profession and assured him that his choice had been a wise one. In the second place, it convinced him that in social science, as in the biological and physical sciences, observation and induction are to be preferred to deductions from *a priori* theories. In the third place, it taught him how to travel, and thus put into his hands a powerful method of research. "Travel," he writes, "is to the science of societies what chemical analysis is to mineralogy, what field work is to botany, or, in general terms, what the observation of facts is to all the natural sciences."

The eventful journey came to an end in November, 1829, and early in December Leplay was back again in Paris.

#### Chapter IV.

##### PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

"A force de forger on devient forgeron."—French Proverb.

Leplay's return from Germany marked the transition from youth to manhood. He had started with the adventurous spirit of youth, he returned with the settled purpose of manhood. "My journey," he wrote, "deepened my attachment to my chosen profession and convinced me that I could render myself useful to my country

therein. Without losing sight of my social studies, which formed my favourite recreation, I devoted myself with increasing ardour to engineering."

The remainder of his life was divided in unequal proportions between the two lines of study. During the next twenty years he was a metallurgist first and a sociologist second, but circumstances ultimately led him to renounce metallurgy and devote himself wholly to social science.

Leploy returned to Paris in December, 1829, with brilliant prospects of a brilliant career. At the outset, however, an accident occurred which for a time appeared likely to end it altogether. Early in 1830 he was experimenting with one of the potassium compounds in the laboratory of the School of Mines when it exploded, inflicting frightful wounds on his hands and arms. The detonation and his cries for help brought in some students, who tore off his burning clothes, extinguished the flames and improvised a bed. For a long time the wounds refused to yield to treatment, but at length, under the care of Dupuytren, the most celebrated surgeon of his day, Leploy recovered his health. His hands were disfigured for life, but fortunately they retained all their delicacy of manipulation.

The eighteen months which followed this accident were, to use his own phrase, a period of physical and moral torture. The Revolution of 1830 broke out shortly after, and scenes of bloodshed and violence ensued. Leploy's only contact with the outer world was through the students and friends who came to sit by his sick bed. From them he learned of industrial confusion, and class hatred, and of the horrors of actual carnage. Through long sleepless nights of pain he brooded on these things, finding consolation only in the thought of the peaceful, prosperous communities of the Saxon plain among whom he had spent the preceding summer. A decisive resolution gradually took shape in his mind. "This bitter apprenticeship to suffering," he wrote long after, "and this enforced meditation seems to me now to have been one of the decisive events of my life. Then it was that I solemnly resolved, so far as in me lay, to find a remedy for the ills which afflicted my country. I took a vow to devote six months of every year to travel, for the purpose of studying metallurgy and of continuing at the same time my study of families and societies. I have been faithful to my vow."

As soon as his health was sufficiently restored Leploy set to work to complete his report of his German tour. The excellence of the form and the value of the material embodied in it made it a model for succeeding students and increased the favour with which Leploy was viewed at headquarters. He was appointed to the charge of the laboratory of the School of Mines, under M. Berthier, and made joint editor of the *Annales des Mines* in collaboration with M. Dufrenoy. The relations between M. Berthier and his brilliant young colleague were not very cordial, and both were glad when the arrangement came to an end.

Freed from the charge of the laboratory, Leploy was now at liberty to devote his whole time and attention to the *Annales des Mines*, which had been started as the *Journal des Mines* in 1794. It had early fallen off, and its publication was discontinued in 1831. A new series, the third, was begun in 1832, and, thanks to the energy and talent which Leploy brought to work, it soon proved a great advance on its predecessors. It was better written and better illustrated, and special attention was devoted to the progress of mining science in other countries. It contained summaries of the most important contributions to British and other foreign technical journals, and every endeavour was made to keep pace with the advance of mining science in every part of Europe. Leploy continued his connection with the *Annales* till 1840, when he was appointed to the chair of Metallurgy at the School of Mines.



## THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1919—1920.

DURING the year 1919-20 the Society's work was necessarily much restricted as a result of the war. It was further handicapped by a serious lack of office accommodation (as well as difficulties in procuring a room for business meetings) owing to the overcrowded state of the School of Economics, where the Society was then housed. In addition, the Secretary, Miss Keyser, was obliged to resign the Secretaryship through ill-health at the end of 1918. At her suggestion Miss Huddleston (a senior student at the School) temporarily carried on the secretarial work, but the arrangement was necessarily unsatisfactory, and the affairs of the Society went into a certain confusion until the appointment of Mrs. Fraser Davies, the present Secretary, in May 1919.

It became apparent that if the work of the Society was to be carried on satisfactorily it was necessary to have larger and more convenient quarters, in which lectures, meetings, etc., could be held, with sufficient space for office work, and where also the Society's library (which was dispersed amongst the books of the School of Economics) could be housed together once more, for the benefit of members. Through the generosity of two members of the Council the lease of Leplay House was purchased for the Society, and it moved there from the London School of Economics in March of this year.

In spite of the difficulties just mentioned, the Society held two courses of lectures in 1919 at 11, Tavistock Square. In the Summer Term lectures were given by:—

Mrs. Nugent Harris ("Women's Institutes and the Part they are playing in Rural Life").

Prof. Maurice Parmelee ("Recent Advances in the Psychology of Behaviour").

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe ("Notes on America at War").

Mr. A. Farquharson ("Suggestions for the Advancement of Sociology").

During the Winter Term lectures were given by:—

Mr. H. J. Peake ("Provinces of England").

A paper was read "On the Training of the Regular British Officer."

Mr. Huntly Carter ("The Re-building of the French Battle Zone").

Miss Defries ("Art and the City").

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on July 2, 1919. Mr. J. A. Hobson resigned from the Chairmanship of the Council in view of his absence from England for some time and Mr. Victor Branford was elected in his stead. The existing members of the Council were re-elected.

During 1919 only two numbers of the *Review* could be published owing to the high cost of production. Two numbers will be published during 1920, but the quarterly issue will be resumed in 1921, a separate fund having been raised for this purpose. The Society was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Lewis Mumford, late Associate Editor of the *Dial* (New York), as Acting Editor of the *Review* during the summer term.

Although the period covered by the year's Report ends in December 1919, a few words may be said as to the recent activities of the Society since its removal to Leplay House. The first meeting was held on March 23, when Dr. Marcel Hardy read a paper on "Suggestions towards a National Policy in Agriculture."

The Summer Term's meeting included papers by Dr. Saleeby ("The Smoke Cure and Our New Homes"), by Mr. John Ross and Mrs. V. Branford ("Social Finance"), and a Symposium on "The War-Mind."

The formal opening of Leplay House took place on June 29, when two meetings were held, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. Both meetings were well attended. Mr. Branford gave an address on "The Main Traditions of Sociology." It will be printed in the next number of the *Review*. An excellent summary of the address appears in the current number of *Science Progress*.

The membership of the Society has increased considerably since the beginning of 1919, and since the removal of the Society to Leplay House this increase has been very marked. Since 1919, twenty-nine new individual members have been elected, and five institutional members.

At a meeting of the Council held on January 29, 1920, it was decided to admit Associates to the Society at an annual subscription of 5/-. Such a subscription does not entitle Associates to receive the *Review*, nor have they the right of voting at meetings. Ten Associates have joined the Society since this rule came into force.

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The Council of the Society look forward to a period of useful and active work during the coming autumn and winter. To carry this work out successfully, however, a further increase in membership and funds is necessary in order that the Society may be able adequately to meet the heavy expenses which are unavoidable at the present time owing to the high cost of all printing, publication, etc. The Council feels that it would be a disaster if the work and activities of the Society were to be restricted by lack of funds at a time when the public demand for sociological teaching is more general than ever before and aid is expected from the Society towards solving the special problems of the present critical period.

The Council therefore appeals for a still further increase in membership and support in order that this work may be carried on adequately.

## THE WAR-MIND, THE BUSINESS-MIND AND A THIRD ALTERNATIVE.

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.<sup>1</sup>

IN the study of what has been popularly called "war-mind" we seek to observe facts and still more we try to discover situations in which impulse and expression are both discernible. What, to begin with, it may be asked, are the types of emotional and intellectual reaction manifested, in a society absorbed by the anxieties, efforts, hopes, fears of an internecine struggle for existence? In short, the primary problem may be stated as the psychology of marginal survival. In so far as characteristic traits, generated in a society thrown for a moment sheer on to the margin of survival, get fixed as mental habits, presumably "the war-mind" develops. Subsequent persistence, modification or loss of these mental habits in after-war time, have also to be investigated.

Important doubtless, both as to impulses and habits, is the distinction between combatants and non-combatants; and, further, between the more or less loose coherence of non-combatant groups on the one hand, and on the other the intimate incorporation of combatants into organized bodies (i.e. companies, regiments and armies), of long-established tradition and definite orientation towards the tasks, risks, opportunities of war.

It is to be remarked that some observers of "the war-mind" (notably e.g. Romain Rolland in his book, *Liluli*) emphasize its defects as the most impulsive of illusions; while others have discovered in its qualities the basis of a transcendent coming-together of all classes in a "sacred union." Hence two schools of thought tend to appear. One of them observes and analyses the reversions to barbarism and savagery through recrudescence of the animalism of "herd instincts," and through perversion of the moral sentiments by habitual recourse to violence, theft, lying, deceit, chicane. The other school emphasizes the traits which evoke co-operant enthusiasm, heroism, self-sacrifice and the energizing of groups or individuals to higher potential than is customary in ordinary times of peace. The former school, in a word, sees war as degrading and repressing life; the latter sees it as enhancing life and raising its voltage by introducing on a grand scale certain elements of psychic arousal which in ordinary situations (social, economic and political) are inconspicuous, absent or latent.

To the first school the war-mind is passive in the grip of circumstances that inhibit the higher manifestations of human life or pervert them, simultaneously re-awakening and stimulating the lower manifestations. To the second school the war-mind is active and effervescent in response to opportunities afforded by those dramatic manifestations of life which evoke its high latencies. Given this scope for creative effort (argues this school), the mind is not only released from customary inhibitions and habits of routine; but further impassioned to high purpose and demiurgic activity.

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The Summer Term's meeting included papers by Dr. Saleeby ("The Smoke Cure and Our New Homes"), by Mr. John Ross and Mrs. V. Branford ("Social Finance"), and a Symposium on "The War-Mind."

The formal opening of Leplay House took place on June 29, when two meetings were held, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. Both meetings were well attended. Mr. Branford gave an address on "The Main Traditions of Sociology." It will be printed in the next number of the *Review*. An excellent summary of the address appears in the current number of *Science Progress*.

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May not both schools find common ground in searching out and studying situations of peace-time which call for the elements of the war-mind, both as to qualities and defects? Obvious instances of both are not far to seek. If lifeboat rescue and fire brigade salvage be counted as episodal examples, yet may not the ordinary combating of disease by doctors and nurses, and of moral evils by priests and reformers be reckoned as illustrations which are in the run of custom? Is not the boy scout movement an endeavour to devise an education which combines and normalises into abiding habit, both the heroism of courage and the altruism of conscience? And if so, how far may the prodigious growth of this movement and its admitted successes be cited in evidence by the meliorist interpreters of the war-mind?

Again, take the defects of the war-mind as exemplified in peace-time. Are not these defects copiously illustrated in the records of crime and vice, the chronicles of folly, the accounts of insanity, and, above all, in the accumulating data of Freudian analysis? And if all such reversions and perversions be exceptional in fact, are they not, from the very nature of the case, symptomatic of the communities in which they germinate? Whatever else these evils be, are they not the flotsam and jetsam of communities embarked on a sea that is in process of being more thoroughly charted? The course of such communities being mapped, do we not see them, since the Industrial Revolution, committed whole-heartedly to a *régime* of competitive industry, and, since the Renaissance, given unreservedly to emulative social practice, in short to a kind of war.

For deeper truths the burden is on the shoulders of Sociology in so far as true that mind is a social phenomenon. Has not the central movement amongst psychologists themselves long been running in this direction? Do not their advanced workers find themselves to-day well within the sociological field? Their most recent school describes and explains mind in terms of "collective representations." But that, it may be said, is a way of speaking which raises more questions than it answers. Doubtless; but may not the chief use of introducing phrasing that is specifically social be its implicit invitation to a wider co-operation in the investigation and research of mental problems. Does it not help, for instance, to bring into the discussion much needed aid from the resources of literature and religion hitherto so little tapped for modern science? Is it not indeed the fact that the practitioners of literature, poetry, drama are the real and essential vitalists of the psychological and social field? While, as for the theologians, does not their ancient formulation about the individual mind as an emanation of the divine mind bear a certain genetic resemblance to the "collective representations" of the newest social-psychologists?

If the above assumptions are verifiable, then how far may we draw certain deductions? First, that the war-mind exhibits with the vivid outline of a diagrammatic object lesson, the tendencies and habits of the modern mind as it works in current western civilization. Second, that such a mind displays a twofold mode of interaction with its milieu; now passively recipient to environment and tradition, now impelled to mastery by the springs of vision. Is it not this tendency to an alternating sequence of negative and positive phases (as it were, the night and day of our inner world) which supplies the vital data of literature and religion? Do not the practitioners of these arts and disciplines of life see such mental phases crystallizing into habits, which in turn dissolve in a ferment of change and again recrystallize into new habits?

For that cycle of periodic movement, a phrasing is needed in correspondence with the terminology of current psychology. May we not follow the practice, growing since the days of Hume, of describing the working of the mind in terms of habit; and declare that the normal tendency of the mind is towards Habituation,

Dehabitation, Rehabilitation? Yet, for the psychologist to say that, is little more than to affirm that the mind ties, unties, and reties knots in the reins of life. It tells us nothing intimate about the rider and his steed, and their origin and destination.

Yet this at any rate may be affirmed, that in studying the social process by means of "collective representations" no great difficulty need be experienced in discriminating between the objective and subjective aspects of a situation. And that is all to the good in a field where confusion between objective and subjective is a common error, leading to premature abstractions and then the mistaking of these for concrete reality. That is a danger into which the student may the more easily fall in using phrases like the war-mind, the social-mind, the group-mind, since these carry the burden of a highly abstract tradition. They are lineal descendants of still more abstract conceptions such as "the collective will" which survive in the books of political philosophy. Without letting go anything useful to be gleaned in this field, we may yet ask whether a more hopeful approach does not lie through the school of "collective representations." That phrase will, to many, sound little attractive and still less hopeful of objective result. But in this paper we propose to give it a trial.

#### I.—THE WAR-MIND.

For a convenient point of origin and departure of the war-mind let us select the "collective representations" of a music-hall 'poster'<sup>1</sup> that spoke to us from the hoardings for a whole year or more during the war (1). It exhibited a scantily-draped young woman suddenly released as a Jack-in-the-box and demonstrating her liberation from captivity by kicking at large. For this sort of thing, the word "exhalation" (rising from our social milieu like fetid air from bog and swamp) might be preferred by those who dislike the phrase "collective representations"! However that may be, it is a fact that a theatrical poster offers a sample of goods known by trade experience to be attractive to the pleasure-seeking public. This specimen then, like others, has to be interpreted as a symbol of deep-seated tendencies in the public mind. What tendencies? Well, suppose the kicking elf to be herself the very spirit of revolt against the repressions imposed on human life by the dreariness, ugliness, inhibitions of the Industrial Age. To whole masses of the people existing uneasily under that drab dispensation the war came as the opening of its door to a caged animal. Repressed instincts of life and curbed energies of purpose found vent in many strange gestures of suddenly released vitality. They took form now in a cult of naughtiness and rebellion; again in dignified, heroic service. Remarkable transformations resulted. The frowsy flower-girl of Piccadilly Circus gave place, for instance, to the bright daughter of Demeter depicted in that poster which announced a French 'flag-day' in London in 1917 (2). Again,

1. For list of these posters and pictures see Appendix to this paper. The numbers in the text refer to corresponding numbers in the Appendix list. The whole set of posters and pictures have been put together in a portfolio of moderate size which can be borrowed for temporary use by study-groups and discussion circles.

note how Hodge and his conjugal drudge were transmuted into the hero-in-khaki and the neo-matriarch, as a recruiting poster for the land-girl army truly set forth (3). But all these and others awakened to high ministry by the call of war, needed also their hours of relaxation. And so, a poster of the Underground Railway reminds us that the pleasure-booths of Vanity Fair were crowded as never before (4). How otherwise indeed, than by following the leisure-class habits of the Victorian Peace could be expended the high wages and the excess profits of that Titanic manufacture and discharge of munitions which proved to be an amazingly lucrative national industry?

Observe next the æsthetic reactions of the war-mind. In general you see that the Art modes of the Industrial Age were repeated and continued, but in intensified and exaggerated ways. As before, the bulk of art patrons preferred the more sentimental forms; but during the war these patrons became legion in number. Witness the story-magazines and books of cheap fiction whose pictorial covers made the bookstalls into a blaze of amatory romance (4a). Amongst posters doubtless not the least successful in extracting war-savings was the triplet of chubby faces, excellently reproduced from a popular Italian painting (5). From the art of the sentimental you may pass to the Baby-week poster of vulgar inanities (6), or of crude symbolism (7); or you may descend to those early recruiting posters which called upon youths "to be in at the final," or bade young women to despatch to the front "their best boy." Or again you may ascend to the great art exhibited on the hoardings in tens of thousands in the admirably executed Whistler's "Portrait of his Mother" (8). The popularisation of this masterpiece first as a poster and next as a cheap reproduction (which happily omitted the impertinent phrase added to the poster) was surely an evidence that war intensifies at least some of the higher no less than the lower potencies of the mind. It is not difficult to discover other examples of "collective representation" which expressed this revealing and exalting quality of War. The "Soldiers' and Sailors' Map of London" is perhaps as remarkable a specimen as any (9). Where else will you find so clear, vivid, simple and withal beautifully executed a presentation of essentials extracted from the foggy labyrinth of the metropolis and put together again to form a map which is also a picture? And forget not that this feat of combined art and science was thought out and wrought under no impulse of opulent patronage but in the service of the common-folk turned soldiers and sailors.

How now sum up this analysis of the war-mind as disclosed in our selection of pictorial presentations and representations? War we observe awakens the spirit and intensifies existence, so that

people act with less restraint in response both to lower and higher impulses. For evil and for good, war suspends alike the Freudian censorship and the Philistine code of inhibitions. Liberated by war, the human psyche makes a flight, in which pre-war habits and dispositions rise to their natural zenith or fall to their proper nadir. By this revealing quality war exposes with merciless clarity, and shows with diagrammatic precision, just what was the character of the preceding age, its type of civilization, its real nature and latent purpose, its qualities and defects. The competitive society of the Industrial Age came to its full flowering in the world war. Two generations almost to a day after Queen Victoria had performed an opening ritual for the National Palace of Industrial Arts, that was to be also an International Temple of Peace, her grandson dedicated the very same edifice to the show-cases of the Military Arts and the symbols of International Rivalry (9a). The Crystal Palace, being now transformed into a War Museum, has thus become a comprehensive monument of the Industrial Age because so fully symbolizing its spirit.

## II.—THE AFTER-WAR MIND TOWARDS "BUSINESS AS USUAL."

If then the war-mind be but the logical issue of the pre-war mind, what of the after-war mind? For answer let us again apply the objective method and try to interpret the meaning and purport of some pictorial samples of current "collective representations." Advertisements of goods for sale remind us that the strong arm of labour returns, after the war, to its work in the forges and factories, the fields and the mines (10). The muscles perhaps are a trifle weary and the nerves a little shaken after the efforts and excitements of battle. Somewhat less than habitual, therefore, is the labourers' response to the call of the "directing classes" for greater output. Now these latter happen to be also the "leisure classes." And how they have returned with added zest to their customary assiduity in the "performance of leisure" we have ample evidence from the illustrated papers as well as from posters and advertisements (11).

Of that social couple known to sociologists as the "People and the Chiefs of the Temporal Power" we thus see the former returning with some reluctance to pre-war ways and the latter with eagerness. Examine now the other elements of this social situation. The corresponding pair of the congruent "Spiritual Power" have their sociological titles in the somewhat ambiguous words "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals." Of the former, many as in pre-war days meditate in well-upholstered armchairs (12); and amongst the latter not a few contrive to seek "life abundant" by frolicking with Pan (13). The inference would appear to be that the post-war mind, like a dog returning to its vomit, resumes the

habits which were modified and in some cases abandoned or even reversed under the stress of danger. But recurrence to pre-war habits is made impossible for many by the sequel of misfortune. In the ruined areas, for instance, men and still more, perhaps, women continue to wander in the Hades of war's devastation (13a). Against this winter of desolation, which threatened all the belligerent nations while the fighting lasted, there is a natural rebound amongst all classes into the gaieties of "Summer in Arcady" (13b). Released from fear, life calls for personal adornments; and so the mills of Lancashire boom, through demand for variety of woman's garments if not for their individual abundance. A prodigious pictorial advertisement of the daily press; doubtless with an eye to finance, proclaims the industrial vigour of Lancashire by a soot pall whose density suggests continuous working shifts throughout the twenty-four hours. This advertisement proudly bore the title, "Master Creations of Cotton Land" (13c). The makers and the salesmen, and still more the financiers of these and other "master creations," crowd the pleasure resorts at home and abroad (13d). They, with their women-folk, constitute a host of new converts to the eighteenth century doctrine that war is good for trade.

Is more subtle evidence needed of the swing back to 1914 and moreover along a larger arc? If so, observe the thoughts and the doings of the ladies of Paris, for what these leaders of fashion think and do to-day the women of the world at large are apt to think and do to-morrow. Nowhere perhaps is there a more influential source of "collective representations" than the ateliers of French modistes. Regard then a picture from that journal which it is said more than all others captivated the minds of English officers in our armies on the continent (14). You see two ladies of 1920 loaded with the trophies, in fur and feather, of the hunter's squaw. Poised uncertainly on the highest of heels in the tiniest of shoes, they stand before an exhibition case in the Museum of Historic Costumes contemplating the vagaries of fashion in times past; says the lady of 1920: "How silly, to bedizen one's self in that sort of way"! to which remark the manikins in their cases, stirred from their slumbers of centuries by the quaint spectacle of the two living dolls, reply "How true, indeed."

The crop of English versions of *La Vie Parisienne* which repeat the dubious innuendos of the original without its satire, is perhaps to be interpreted not only as manifesting the follies of the post-war mind, but also its instinctive search for a more vital way of life than that of the Victorian Peace (14a). Filled again are the old avenues of escape from the outer dreariness of industrial towns and the inner repressions of their educations, philosophies, religions. And, since the war, more eager than ever the quest of what is imagined



to be life abundant. More crowded are the racecourses, football grounds, boxing rings, golf courses, more in vogue the chambers of the mystery-mongers and the dancing saloons, busier the stock-brokers and turf accountants, more audacious the cult of the fleshly. But it is only yesterday that Death lurked at every corner, so escape has imparted to well nigh everyone something of the zest of youth for life's sweet fruits, yet with a lingering taste of the bitter (14b).

A community emerging from war enjoys the stimulus of release from fear. But it also suffers the loss of moral momentum given by a common end uniting the whole nation. Under that deprivation, groups and individuals lapse into the pre-war state of loose ends and cross purposes that accompany the individual struggle for existence. And though "Imperial policy" be more potent than ever, so also is its antagonist and complement, proletarian socialism. And in any event both these ends even at their strongest are to war but as burnt thread to steel wire for general binding power. Thus the return of peace opens the floodgates of reversions and even perversions. Is it too much to say that in the two years following the war we have witnessed a renewal of the old scramble for gain, but inflamed by post-war extravagance; the old commerce of sordid impulse but coarsened by war's brutalities; the old politics of chicane but emboldened by war's frauds and falsities? Previously there was a host of movements organised and spontaneous, directed to the replacing of these lower separatisms by higher unisons. What has become of these meliorist endeavours? Some have failed to survive the war; yet others have been strengthened and new ones are emerging. Over against English imitations of *La Vie Parisienne* we may place the new journals devoted to the making and adornment of Homes (15). Over against the advertisement of Cotton-Land's master creations put the announcement of the exhibition called "Beautiful Richmond, Past, Present and Possible"; for this was but a sample and manifesting of forces fermenting everywhere (15a). It was an endeavour, very largely by women, to maintain the moral awakening of the war and direct it to the common end of civic ennoblement and local betterment. The makers of this "Beautiful Richmond" Exhibition launched a campaign for introducing into the mind of the local community a well-planned set of "collective representations" of a very different kind from those of the post-war business mind. They offered for civic application not the ambitions of the hunter and the cravings of his squaw, but the modes and ideals of town-planner, gardener and housewife, in all of whom the sociologist discovers something of the soil-rooted peasant. Yet the Exhibition itself was but a display of resources and a rehearsal of groupings in that sequence of larger and smaller moves which soldiers call

strategy and tactics. The general objective might be defined as a Civic Economy based on the traditional domestic economy of order and beauty. And similar campaigns being actual or incipient in many places, does there not come into view a national end or common objective of high intensity which as it grows conscious of its purpose may acquire the character of a moral equivalent of war? Here then are efforts, however modest and sporadic, to replace the abstractions of political economy by the realities of civic economy, and to substitute for the politics of centralised power a comity of militant city-regions. Yet it would obviously be rash to assume the conscious beginning of an ordered march towards a polity charged with the qualities of war but free of its defects. The current spectacle of public life even suggests something more resembling a gaderene flight in the opposite direction. Openly in the places of business, obscurely behind the scenes of politics, vividly in the pages of "Punch," may be seen the Profiteer, swollen and exalted by the gains of war (16). With his accumulators refilled and his voltage raised in potential he is engaged (through the press and other vendible sources of "collective representations") in charging the batteries, if not of the war-mind, yet of the war-ward mind. Between this master of cunning and his sworn foe the Bolshevik (taking the latter as his critics see him) gloomy indeed would seem to be the prospect of the western world (16).

### III.—A THIRD ALTERNATIVE.

It is announced (July, 1920) by the Carpenters' Union that over 50,000 of their men are engaged on aerodromes, cinemas, hotels, factories, garages, banks, castles and great shops—most of the latter doubtless for display and sale of sex adornments. Upon the simultaneous building of workmen's houses and all other construction the number of carpenters at work is declared to be something less than 10,000. Now, counting as within the cult of Business and Super-business, not only those who have arrived, but also those on the way, and the timid who fear to start, it is probably fair to reckon the power of this Great Interest, as against all minor ones (*i.e.* religion, art, literature, science, education, domestic economy) at the ratio gauged by the carpenters, *i.e.* of 5 to 1. On the other side of the balance the thunders of political socialism and the wails of socialistic bureaucracy are loud but light in weight. Yet on closer inspection cannot there be found a Third Alternative to Super-business and Socialism?

Where then must we look for more hopeful initiatives? Search has to be made not only amongst the tender shoots of new cultures, but also through the dried seeds of old faiths and even their

decomposing fruits; for let us remember alike the possibilities of rejuvenescence and the prospects of cross-fertilization. Amidst all this fermentation of after-war minds, surely there are discoverable at least the beginnings of a social order capable of amending to finer proportions the present rating of Business as against the Housing of the People, combined with the totality of moral, mental and æsthetic interests. But in this paper, exploration must needs be limited, and though partisanship be avoided, yet partiality is less easily escaped.

Think for instance of the profiteer's children. Conceive the sort of "collective representations" which, during the coming generation, will go to the making of *their* minds. How many of these children, but for the war, would have grown up in the purlieus of Whitechapel! Thanks, however, to the cunning with which their fathers handled the world crisis, they reside to-day, not unlikely, in a spacious mansion overlooking Hampstead Heath. Now the posters of the Hampstead Tube show us vividly what it means for children to taste the joys of life under a canopy of blue sky, amid the heath, bracken and pines of wild nature (17). True the well-devised curricula of schools and colleges endowed by former profiteers and financiers, or supported by present ones, will do their best to correct childhood's early impressions of blue heaven and wild nature. In order to clean the slate of childhood's mind for the right kind of "collective representations" do not the schools keep their pupils caged and imprisoned during the long days of summer, and release them only during the waning days of an oncoming autumn? Into the chambers of the child-mind thus swept if not garnished, the industrious schoolmaster introduces the worn furniture of archaic learning, thus making ready for the ghostly visitors who convey "literature and history" to the adult mind (17a). But the dessicating practises of the higher educational institutions are now, since the war, and in the light thereof, being challenged even by trading corporations, supposed to be without soul. The Managers of the Great Western Railway, for instance, speaking from the hoardings, recall to us the eternal verity that the glorious days of June are the occasion provided by nature for filling our minds with the splendour and the pageantry of sea and sky (18).

Think next of the press, itself not the least, perhaps even the most powerful, of all the batteries that charge our minds with collective representations. A French phrase pays half ironic homage to the great dailies which are the chief guides of our inner life, denominating them the "Grand Press." Their mode of working is alternatively that of the electrician and the gardener. In the former rôle they stir us now with the mild thrills of an intermittent current, again by the terrific shocks of high voltage. In

the gentle rôle of the gardener they implant daily in our minds the choice seeds of suggestion. In subtle ways do they not hint that all will go well with the world if only we re-enthroned those gods of the Manchester Pantheon, Demand and Supply? But is it not to be read in the current working of the post-war mind as manifested in the daily price lists of necessities that these gods too easily change into the demons of profiteering and chicane? But even the "grand press" is open to suggestions of a better way of life, if not in its news pages and its leading articles, yet in its advertising columns. And so, by the picture and argument of advertisement, are conveyed to us the collective representations of a small group of tender women appealing for succour to the children of devastated or impoverished lands (19).

A similar contest for the fashioning of post-war minds proceeds on all sides. In further evidence note that against the Goliath of the Illustrated Press directing the skilled artistry of *Vanity Fair* (20, 21) in an endeavour to make us forget the dead, is pitted the David of the League of Nations Union, using the hoardings to recall to us the message of fallen heroes (22).

#### IV.—THE REAWAKENING OF THE MODERN MIND.

From a modest collection of posters and pictures, chosen almost at random and therefore all the more significant as evidence of prevailing sentiments and ideas, we have deciphered some of the formative elements of the war-mind and the after-war mind. Amongst the factors that go to the composing of our inner life and so to the determining of conduct and the directing of action in these times, we have discerned some half-dozen major sources of collective representation. They are the memory of the dead, the tenderness of woman, the joy of children, the cunning of man, and behind, above and below these human impulses, the cosmic forces inherent in the pageantry of nature and the wonder of the world. But are not these the very things which in the long evolution of man have, more than aught else, gone to the making of mind itself? That is assumed as a fair epitome of what science has to say about the genesis of mind. The resulting thesis is twofold. First that through the experience of war, its horrors and heroisms, its sufferings and illuminations, its sacrifices and inventions, our minds have been awakened as perhaps never since the dawn of the Renaissance. And next, given this arousal to the issues of life and death, given this awakening to the human significance of nature, given the existing resources of knowledge and their practical applications, a certain conclusion follows. It follows that the natural and the human factors that have made our minds in the past will in the

coming generation continue their work, for good and ill, with an acceleration of speed, an augmented energy, an intensified awareness of purpose.

It was natural, if not inevitable, that the tension of the war should be followed in immediate sequel by a phase of relaxing and reaction in mind, body and soul with return to pre-war habits, or worse. This reactionary phase, with all its reversions and perversions, no doubt may persist as the dominant mood throughout the coming half generation or longer. Its upshot to the detached spectator of these times may seem more suggestive of a new "thirty-years' war" than the dawning renaissance of a creative era. But on the evidence of our analysis, may it not be affirmed that all the time there will be gathering from the deeps a great tide of awakened life? In the cemeteries of the battle zones lie the tokens of a vicarious sacrifice beyond the imagining of priestly ritual (23). From the multitude of pilgrims who will visit these shrines some will return impassioned by the sense and meaning of this sacrament. Under this religious impulse what will the returning pilgrims do? In the forms of conduct they adopt, the lines of action they pursue, will come to fruition the collective representations that have gone to the fashioning of their minds in the past and those that energise their heart in the present. Formidable no doubt are the suggestions of evil and the impulses to indifference, yet for some at least of the returning pilgrims, the imagination will be fired by words which should have been graven on the monument of Nurse Cavell (24). Her dying message surely expresses something of what prompted to voluntary war service the multitudes of our common-folk stirred to heroism by the German invasion of Belgium in 1914: "Patriotism is not enough."

Those youths of the people who in the autumn of 1914 sprang to the rescue of a distressed Nation were touched with an awakening of the soul which is akin to genius. And is it not supremely on such arousals of dormant personality that the progress of the world depends? The contention then is that, reversions and perversions notwithstanding, there have been brought into existence by the war the pre-requisites for an exceptional florescence of genius. Have not immense latencies of mind amongst the common-folk been brought nearer to realization? To millions formerly untravelled and unobservant have been revealed the evocatory powers of nature; untold opportunities have opened to the contrivances of man's cunning; unprecedented occasions have arisen for the public exercise of woman's tenderness; incredibly dramatic contrasts in the joy and suffering of children have emerged; and through all these strands in the warp of our mental fabric, the hand of the dead is busy as perhaps never before in throwing the shuttle of memory.



## V.—FROM WARDOM TO PEACEDOM.

Whatever be the pattern that is weaving on the loom of time, will not the consciousness of design, the intention of workmanship and the resolve of execution become increasingly pervasive in doing battle throughout the community with the regiments of reaction? Nevertheless it would be a profound error to affirm a clear-cut line between "Reaction" and "Progress." Sheer may seem the division between vociferating partisans of both sides; deep the cleavage between "Bolshies" and "Birkies"—if the latter title may be pardoned in punning allusion to their eighteenth century ancestor who championed the English reaction against the Revolutionary Movement of those times. But progress and reaction are terms ill to define. The soldiers for the most part range themselves in the camp of "reaction." Yet the warrior tradition has its high qualities; the soldier sees clearly a definite goal to be reached by mastery of resources in detail and in mass; he is animated by a vision of unity in which one is for all, and all for one; his appeal is to honour and self-sacrifice with their exaltation of spirit. Peril the soldier seeks instead of shunning and so wins the steadfast courage that comes from persistent look into the "bright eyes of danger." The Victorian Peace, because it boasted of "progress" and yet was lamentably deficient in all these imperative needs of the soul, failed to survive.

Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to imagine, plan and create a peace that corrects its own defects by the qualities of war. The Victorian Peace, being but latent war, went far in combining the defects of both. Its competitive commerce, social emulations, political contests, religious rivalries, were a preparation for war; and moreover not of the right sort. Against the Victorian repressions of life and refusal of opportunities, war was the natural rebound of ardent men. To describe the state of a society externally at peace but intrinsically moving towards war, the word Wardom has been invented. Now, there is to be sure, serious risk that after rising into War, such a society should sink back into the slough of Wardom. To the prevalence of such tendencies on all sides is due the pessimism of the post-war mind. But manifestations of the countering tendencies are also discernible. Some of these have already been cited; let us consider a few others of like significance. Note, to begin with, how the ceremonial instincts and habits that go with war's arousal, sought and found other outlets immediately war ceased. Several organisations to this end came into being within a few months of the armistice (25). The Arts League for National Ceremony was one of them; and in the designing and making of the great River Pageant on the Thames, the spirit of

1. "Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord." (Robert Burns.)

the older Arts' and Crafts' movement came to fruition and made visible to the public that a true successor to William Morris exists in Henry Wilson (25a). A corresponding movement of the younger men was organised and presented in the Arts League of Service (26). This body not only adds to the "Arts and Crafts" of the past generation, those of Dancing, the Drama and Music, but puts these in the very forefront of its policy and programme. Hence, for instance, its converted motor war-lorry, a veritable theatre on wheels touring the villages of England with young players of that vigorous school which springs at one or more removes from the Abbey Theatre of Dublin.

These young dancers, players, singers, musicians of the Arts League of Service, banded for the heartening of the public, are, may we not say, the "Emotionals" of an incipient "Spiritual Power"? How the corresponding "People" to whose vitalizing service they are pledged, are themselves spontaneously awakening to the issues of life, the chancicleer of the *Daily Herald* proclaims (27). Where next are we to look for the "Chiefs" or executive leaders of the awakening "People"? Though the answer to this query be hardly as yet visible upon the hoardings, there is at least a hint of it on the bookstalls. The mercantile firm which issues "Bibby's Annual" professes to foresee the advent of an employer type that treats his office not so much as one of profit-making as of Trusteeship (28). Many such undoubtedly exist; the more they become the dominant type, the more active and resolute the "Directing Classes" will be in seeking out and installing in power those who amongst the workers themselves are gifted with the qualities and aptitudes of leadership. But in order that the functional may replace the financial or the fungoid in leadership, a corresponding change of ideas in education is needed. In other words the "Spiritual Power" affirmed as incipient, must have its "Intellectuals" of like order. Amongst many testimonies to the coming of a synthetic and human science fitted for this sort of guidance, note the poster of the "Civics Education League" announcing their Summer School (29). Viewing the world through a portico of the old "abbey" at High Wycombe (the venue of the school) the designer of this poster sees again, like the "Regular" of old the reality of neighbouring buildings in terms of actual living homes, along with the factories and workshops that maintain them. From the widening co-operation of such endeavours among many orders of "Intellectuals," the functional "cloister" of the incipient "Spiritual Power" is doubtless preparing: its coming will help to replace urban illusions by rustic realities, and so bring about what has been called a green revolution in place of a red one. A further step to this end is the long delayed reunion in direct association of

artists, musicians, poets, dramatists, sculptors, with the common folk. A sign and symptom of this coming together of People and Emotionals is the full quota of working-class representatives on the Council of the Arts League of Service. For final illustration take the poster of this League announcing Lectures and Demonstrations at the Central Hall, Westminster (30). Says the explanatory leaflet accompanying this poster:—

“The public has few occasions of contact with any authority on Art; they get their opinions frequently from ill-informed criticisms and from biased quarters of the huge camp of commercial art. The Arts League of Service, therefore, in organising these lectures, has chosen a painter, a poet, a dancer, and a musician, each of whom is an artist in his special work.”

And what more appropriate place for this direct appeal of Art to the People than the Central Hall at Westminster? By its recent construction and emplacement in the sacred centre of national tradition and by the ingenious adaptations of its internal design to the purposes of public art, does not this significant building mark a real advance towards a living Cathedral for the incipient Spiritual Power? At any rate, if hardly yet a cathedral nave, it is assuredly a music-hall to which the Muses need not be ashamed of returning.

All these initiatives and a thousand others could be cited as the discernible harbingers of a creative era. Yet their practitioners, exponents, advocates, organisers, preachers and singers, assuredly need a clear and moving consciousness of common purpose, before they can hope to coalesce into that party of the Third Alternative which would also be the Party of a vital and constructive Peace. To constitute such a party and make its marching regiments move forward, as it were, *en echelon*, three pre-requisites are superlatively needed. They are, a richer vision of the social goal, a clearer knowledge of the social process, a viable plan of campaign. In the present confusion of social thought, dimness of social vision, dispersiveness of social action, these conditions of fulfilment may seem remote. The backwardness of social science is to be sure a severe hindrance to the growth and formation of a Party of Constructive Peace. But it is possible that the experience of the war may yet awaken even the academic sociologist to serious study of contemporary phenomena and so liberate him from obsession with the abstractions of past cultures, or the primitive simplicities of current barbarisms. In any case, there is testimony to the determination of the older Institutions, both lay and religious, not to wait upon the sociologist, but to fare forth themselves in pursuit of a knowledge of the social process. From this source, maybe, will issue the Friars of the coming cloister through whom understanding and sympathy will be once more united as a practising wisdom.

Their preaching will rouse us to a vision of life realizable here and now, region by region, city by city, on the supposition that we give our minds and apply our hands with the will and the energies of war. They will announce the conditions for a grand-scale campaigning of concerted activity amongst all the Institutions and Movements, old and new, that make for a Vital Economy in town and country. These ministrants of the coming cloister will blend into one moving picture of the might-be, those elements of reality that gave life to the paradises, heavens, utopias of former dispensations. Through drama, story, song, dance, picture, will the People be thus awakened to demand the skilled direction of a General Staff equipped and endowed on the scale of a great war.

Assuredly we need a word to describe the peace-mind of a society aroused to these issues. It must be a word that brings out the contrast with that illusory peace of recent centuries which was but disguised and latent war. The statesmen who, at Versailles, tried to join together the fragments of our broken world, are blamed for not giving us this higher kind of peace. But if you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, neither can you by merely breaking eggs. Having grown up in a peace that was wardom, our elder statesmen faithfully reflected in their treaty-making the minds of their peoples in lacking the vision still more the formula of a constructive peace. How, under these conditions, could the armistice be ought but the gateway of a return to wardom? But there are many who refuse this passage into a renewing Hades. It is for them to beat out the tracks towards Peacedom, a term invented to describe the state of mind manifested by a society resolute to wage a Holy War. The energies of Peacedom would be directed to the doing of two things, which are spiritual and temporal aspects of one and the same thing. First an alliance of Churches, Reform Societies, Recreative Associations, Learned Societies, Universities, Schools, to liberate the community from its burden of diseases, poverties, follies, ignorancies, apathies, vices, crimes. Next an alliance of Arts, Crafts, Industries, Trades, to re-make our urban environment, so that from being what it is for most, little better than a lethal chamber, it becomes for all a garden of life.

In a community attuned to a militant peace many problems which at present baffle the wisest statesmen by their complexity would become reduced to a manageable simplicity. For single instance of these secondary reactions (as they might be called) under a state of Peacedom, take the vexed question of increased output. Instead of the customary indirect appeal to workers suspiciously watching for the darkening shadows of unemployment, there could be substituted the direct drive of personal and family impulse. For there would spontaneously arise, under the conditions assumed, a

pervasive impulse towards super-production, which is a very different thing from super-business. And this productive impulse would become operative and prevail just in proportion as there dawned in the mind of every worker a belief that his energies were contributing to a plan for the betterment of his own region and the enhancement of its population. How to generate this revealing faith and bring it home not only to every worker, but to all the members of each community concerned? That is the constructive task awaiting a renovated spiritual power; it is the positive aspect of that problem whose negative lies in the purging of our civilization from its dominant evils. For achievement in this field there is needed a vision of life so compelling and a corresponding doctrine of life so clear as to bring about a working unison of feeling and unity of thought throughout the peoples and the nations of our western civilization. Here surely are the spiritual pre-requisites to the energy of action essential to a safe passage through the present transition. The argument then is that along this path we must advance if, instead of sinking back from war into the putrid mire of wardom, the People with their Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals are together to rise on the wings of embattled memories into the brightening realms of Peacedom.

#### VI. SOCIALIST IDEALS : THEIR ORIGINS AND OUTCOME.

It may contribute towards grasping more clearly the idea of Peacedom, to contrast with it the socialist ideal which is at present dominant. Rooted in a not dissimilar soil, the two ideals are nevertheless very different kinds of plant; for they grow from unlike seeds.

Not a few socialist critics of the Victorian Peace have long treated it as but masked and latent war. Having now come and gone, the war, that was logically due, is being submitted to analysis by these same writers. Their argument, when not purely economic, runs for the most part on lines that are more or less administrative, constitutional, almost legal. The war transferred, they point out, some five million able-bodied men of the British Nation from industrial to military service. And this immense army was kept in the field for several years; it was not only supplied with complicated munitions in incredible quantities, but was itself maintained at an individual level of life, in food, clothing, and recreation beyond the customary peace standards. And all the time the home population was fed, clothed and amused, up to a pitch of efficiency and energy evidenced by an admitted increase of output and heightening of vitality. How then was performed this seeming miracle of production, this acknowledged feat of distribution?

True there was a ceaselessly flowing stream of imports, pur-



chased from foreigners on long-term credit or by sale of accumulated securities; true that our roads, railways and machinery were allowed to fall into some disrepair, and our stocks for home consumption were similarly permitted to run down and the building of houses all but ceased. Yet make allowances on all these counts, and it still remains that in gross output the nation touched a level of performance undreamed in pre-war times. This miracle of production was wrought, say these socialist writers, by a social transformation in which may be discerned as its central process the substitution of State for private control and direction in industry. In short, they maintain that the exigencies of war brought about a first approximation to the socialist ideal. And since the Socialist State has thus demonstrated its capacity in war, why should it not prove equally efficient, indeed even more so, in peace?

But now, instead of stopping the enquiry at this point and thereupon passing with the socialist into dogma, let us with the sociologist push on a little further with the analysis of war-economy and war-politics. Recall that the burst of impassioned energy evoked by the war was directed mainly towards two material ends. One was the making of munitions, food and clothing, for the army; the other was the using up of these things in fighting. At first, it will be remembered, production barely kept pace with consumption. But in the later stages of the war, production ran magnificently ahead; and colossal stocks were heaped up. Then when a certain level of accumulation had been reached, a big battle was fought; and the hoarded wealth was dissipated in one heroic rite of sacrificial destruction, continued till the "dumps" were used up or reduced to moderate proportions. If the battle was lost, stocks were perhaps still more depleted than if won, with consequent heightening of impulse to fresh production. But win or lose, it became evident that war, by its very nature, supplied that ultimate desideratum of traders and manufacturers, an organised and unfailing means of keeping Demand ahead of Supply. Prices, consequently, were ever on the up-grade; and wages following suit, Labour enjoyed a similar prosperity to Capital. In short, war-economy turned out to be the very paradise that had been foreshadowed, hoped and prayed for in the pre-war cults of Goods-economy and Money-economy.

Examining next the kind of goods produced in this output of titanic energies, one sees them conforming to a few well-defined types. They were for the most part either simple rustic products like corn and wool, or rustic-urban compounds of established uniformity, like bully-beef, bread and margarine for feeding the armies; or well standardized manufactures like military clothing and accoutrements; or finally they were things like shells and

machine guns, which though highly complex yet become mass products of uniform manufacture as soon as there are ascertained and given the mathematical types of their mechanism and the chemical formulæ of their composition.

Thus operating within the limits of the Lower Sciences and the Cruder Arts war-economy rises to the heights of mass-output of standardized products, vendible at ever-rising prices in an indefinitely expansible market. After this fashion does war-economy reconcile the goods-economy of the early Manchester school with the price-economy of later financial schools, metropolitan and imperial.

Next observe that the assembling and distribution of this relatively uniform mass of standardized goods calls for a corresponding uniformity in clerical service, and so to the trading and manufacturing paradise, war-economy adds the administrative paradise of Monopolist Trusts and also that of Bureaucratic Government. Nor does this compounding of many ideals exhaust the attainment of economic harmonies through war. There are other types and classes to whom it brings a foretaste of their particular heaven. For does not military service afford to the workers and the humbler professions a representative sample of that leisure-class scheme of things to which they most of them aspire? Picture for instance the conditions of military service as recently demonstrated. Protracted phases of comparative freedom and irresponsible inactivity are spiced and garnished by intervals of excitement, varying in intensity from the mild joys of Y.M.C.A. games up to the ecstasies of that supreme sport, man-hunting; the distractions of foreign travel are punctuated by periodic opportunities to participate in metropolitan gaieties; food, clothing and all the materials of sustenance flow as into the lap of gods careless of costs and indifferent to source. Thus by furnishing those human contacts and recreational elements conspicuously lacking in mass-production of standardized goods, does war-economy complete its triumphs of organization. In short, the revealing discovery is made that war provides the populace with a certain semblance to those conditions of "complete material well-being" which constituted the leisure-class ideal of the Victorian era.<sup>1</sup>

On enquiry next into the political forms associated with this economic dispensation, it is easy to see that centralization of authority must go with maximum output of low-grade standardized products. The nation embattled, therefore, naturally places its political destinies in the hands of leaders most skilled by tradition

1. Trading on these leisure-class ideals, the alluring posters which invite young men to join the new volunteer army "and see the world for nothing" doubtless do their work efficiently.

and experience in the manifold forms incidental to the centralization of power. And where are such leaders to be found? Assuredly, there is one occupation and one alone which inherits an immemorial tradition and an incomparable skill in the practice of centralization. It is, of course, the occupation of the warrior. But what, it will be asked, is the connection between political and military forms of centralization? The answer is becoming increasingly plain to students of historical sociology; for they perceive modern theories of the State to be little more than rationalizations made from the military or quasi-military practices of ruling castes.

In entire sincerity do academic theorists of the State impute the origins of their philosophy to the political thinkers of ancient Greece. But that merely relegates the general question, and in any case does not preclude the sociological interpretation of these modern theorists of the State as unconscious political sophists of a masked militarism.

How then in this view should be rated and where placed the "practical politician" in the modern State? Whether in power as a conventional statesman, or seeking power by advocacy of an insurgent statesmanship, the politician would, from the given standpoint, be seen as arrested midway in reversion to the military type. Two further stages towards completing their reversion were well exemplified by our leading statesmen during the war. What were these? Well, recall that to his supremacy in centralizing skill the warrior adds other unique occupational distinctions. He excels beyond question in the mystical power of combining destruction of lives and property with enhancement in the life of the destroyers. And because this order of thaumaturgy evokes a quick response in the deep instincts and unavowed passions of men, the warrior exercises a spell that can bind his community into devoted singleness of purpose. With but little equivocation, therefore, did politicians of all schools, not excluding those of Liberal and even Radical tradition, plunge with ardour into the study of these finer developments, mental, moral, and spiritual, of the military tradition in its application to the art of Government. After a brief apprenticeship, they were to be seen vigorously leading, accompanying, or following their respective bodies of adherents in the corresponding practices. They rapidly became adepts at extending centralization, both political and economic, to its furthest limits. They quickly acquired a fine skill in stirring the nation to feats of labour, exploits of peril and marvels of endurance; in rousing the sense of solidarity, and quickening the pulses of national animus.

Thus, by compounding for economic application and social usage the four ingredients of militarism, viz., centralization of

authority, wholesale destruction, enhancement of life, impassioned unanimity, did the politics of war push to their denouement those deep and hidden tendencies which sanction the title of Wardom in application to the antecedent "peace." And that politics and economics were throughout in accord, if not evident from the above analysis, will at least not be denied by students of socialism, since their philosophy is based on an economic interpretation of history. But to see more clearly the linkage between war-economy and war-politics one may turn to the psychologist, and perchance learn also from him at the same time, something of the inner drive from nineteenth century peace to twentieth century war.

The bundles of mental habits characteristic of the Victorian peace had their accompanying body of half-conscious wishes and sub-conscious desires. These deeper impulses, when repressed, seem to coalesce into disturbing ferments of the mind, for which the psycho-analysts have invented a phrase, not very happily chosen, because of its slightly mechanistic bias. Mental *complexes* is the name they give to these abnormal cerebral integrations which effect temporary adjustments of the individual life to the communitary life in a society of debased tradition and deteriorate environment. From the investigations of this most active of current psychological schools we also discover how the unsatisfied desires of the heart seek a passive outlet in dreams, and that when the soul is stirred to passionate emotion a more realistic fulfilment of that devastating inner urge is, for ill or good, achieved. These psycho-analysts, as their researches extend, are constantly revealing in the working of our minds, new complexes of definite relation to our tradition, occupation, and general mode of life and kind of milieu. And, if they have not yet observed and examined with the detail requisite to scientific analysis, a "war complex" in the mind of the ordinary and average urban man of these days, we may surely expect it from them at any moment. To assume, then, a wardom complex as characteristic of the Victorian mind is a fair deduction from extant data. That means, all the time, starved instincts, thwarted impulses, repressed desires were seeking and finding a vent in bad dreams, ugly actions and dubious conduct, sometimes "rationalized," more often instinctive or merely impulsive. It means also that, of these bad dreams, many worked through into conscious thought and became elaborated into imposing systems. May we not, must we not, impute to such origins the notion of a proletarian paradise to be won by "the class war"; and also the not unrelated illusion of limitless markets in an expanding empire? Is not this latter concept but a variant of the former; the strife of nations in the imperial dream being the equivalent of the class-war in the socialist utopia?

Making these assumptions we more clearly see Germany, tormented by such obsessions even beyond the other Great States of our common occidental civilization, plunging into war, if only to merge the domestic peril in the foreign adventure. But to all the belligerents war brought the relief of action in a crisis of nerves prolonged over more than one generation. And the springs of emotional energy being released, the war naturally proved all the more protracted in time, comprehensive in range, and extensive in destruction, by reason of the long antecedent repression.

Returning now to the political problem, what illumination does this further analysis offer? Does it not suggest a very definite interpretation of the Socialist State? Born and nurtured in the Victorian peace, the idea of the Socialist State came to fruition in the war, because well adapted to create the political and economic forms necessary to a successful issue in that order of activity. The conclusion would appear to be that this socialist ideal is itself a product of the wardom complex. Thus it bears a relation at once to the war-mind and to the business-mind. If in a learned discussion, it be permissible to borrow the language of the stable-yard, then, daring greatly for the sake of a vivid metaphor, one might venture to describe the fashionable form of current Socialism as a chestnut gelding, in course of being broken to harness, out of Business-mind by War-mind.

To demonstrate a correlation of socialism with wardom is by no means to imply that the Socialist State is incapable of initiating and developing a true and constructive peace. But the conclusion does follow that current socialist modes and ideals must themselves undergo profound change, if they would show the way and organize the means to the life-economy and civic-economy of Peacedom.

To affirm the possibility of such a radical change in socialist doctrine is no pious hope or postulate of perfection, but a suggestion of definite re-orientation. There are in the tradition of socialism two heritages, widely divergent. One proceeds along the broad road of Marxian dogma; and the other by the narrow way of social experiment, on which the open-air philosophy of Robert Owen triumphantly started. If working-class leaders had pursued the latter with the same assiduity they have given to the closet-doctrine of Marx, the rank and file would now, it is fair to assume, be well on the way to reaping a richer harvest of real wages, instead of still struggling in the economic void of the price-system, with its mirage of nominal wages.

Owen's way led through Co-operation to Housing, Town-planning, Gardened Cities, and in short, all that bettering of environment which comes from an ordered application of the Finer



Arts and the Higher Sciences to social needs. For Robert Owen, industry, trade and finance were means very deliberately to be adjusted to this end, of life abundant, for the community of workers. Here then, within the Socialist tradition, indeed at its core, is a very different vision from the quasi-militarist ideal of a people organized for mass production of low-grade products, educated in the learning of the leisure-class, and practising its cheaper modes of recreation by way of physical exercise and spiritual sustenance. If it be asked how it came about that socialists were persuaded to adopt this Great Illusion which has developed from the Marxian heresy, the answer is not difficult when one looks back in the dry light of sociological analysis over the long-drawn drama of the industrial era. The creeping reversion to militarism which gradually overtook society in the nineteenth century, we increasingly see to have been deeply characteristic of Machine Production. That being so, the militarist ideal must needs renew itself; and moreover in twin forms adapted to the two Great Interests of these days, *i.e.* Capital and Labour. The suggestion has been made above that Imperialism and Socialism are correlative political systems that respectively meet the requirements of the Classes and the Masses under the Machine Industry and the Pecuniary Culture. But that generalization is somewhat too sweeping, by reason of lacking a certain discrimination. The qualification now suggested is that the proletarian adjustment was less in the nature of things than the product of misguided intellectual endeavours. By impassioned dialectics protracted over a full generation, the Marxian element was manœuvred from a heretical position on the margin, to an orthodox position at the centre of socialist doctrine. To be sure, various correctives have spontaneously arisen amongst working-class movements, but none, so far, have been definitely directed to a full renewal and further development of the rich Owenite tradition. Perhaps the Guild Socialists are destined to that attainment. But if so, must they not develop their Guild organization of industry into a Life-economy of Cities and their Regions, on pain of relapse to a quasi-military tradition of State-economy in chronic wardom?

Since guilds in point of historic origin, and therefore of social purpose, are in, of and for the city, their contemporary renewal must be civic in scope and aim, if it is to grow into a natural fulfilment of type. Further, let it be recalled that coincident with the flowering of the mediæval guilds, there occurred the rise of the Universities and the coming of the Friars. Now think of the Universities and the Friaries at their constructive best in the thirteenth century. Conceive them as the wings of an organism, whose feet were the

guilds, and body the natural autonomous city-region. The ultimate tragedy of that age was a certain frustration that overcame those wings and feet in their effort to carry the city forward through the troubled transition of mediæval to modern times. And to-day that problem confronts the cities of our western world with an urgency intensified by the evils accumulated during all the years of failure to adjust the heritage of the historic past to contemporary and prospective needs through the intermediacy of modern resources. Our cities have as yet been lamentably lacking in the balanced movement of earth-gripping feet and lifting wings. It is then of good augury that a vital renewal of universities is well under way, and even a renaissance of guilds is incipient. But long overdue is a new coming of Friars fully equipped in modern resources, yet cherishing the past and looking to the future. Their arrival will mark a real initiation into an era of Peacedom.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIVE POSTERS AND PICTURES.

1. A Box o' Tricks. Music Hall Poster.
2. Pour La France. French Flower-day Poster.
3. "I Leave the Land to You." War Poster.
4. Underground Railway Poster.
- 4a. Covers of Popular Magazines.
5. War Savings Poster.
- 6 & 7. "Baby Week" Posters.
8. Whistler's Portrait of his Mother.
9. Soldiers' and Sailors' Map of London. (R.I.B.A. Greater London Survey.)
- 9a. Opening of Crystal Palace as War Museum.
10. The Strong Arm of Labour. (Lamp Advertisement.)
11. Advertisement of Cigarettes. (Fashionable young man and woman at a Race Meeting.)
12. Advertisement of Hair-wash. (Man contemplating in an armchair.)
13. Frontispiece Picture from "Pan."
- 13a. Symbolic Picture of War-ruined Area.
- 13b. "Summer in Arcady."
- 13c. The "Master Creations of Cotton Land."
- 13d. Terrace Scene at Monte Carlo.
14. Cartoon from "La Vie Parisienne."
- 14a. Scenes from the Illustrated Press.
- 14b. Youth and Death.
15. Pictures from the Home-Building Press.
- 15a. Map of Local Housing—prepared for Exhibition of "Beautiful Richmond, Past, Present and Possible."
16. "Punch's" Presentations of the Profiteer.
- 16a. The Bolshevik—as his critics see him.
17. Child Playing on Hampstead Heath. (Railway Poster.)

1. This essay is No. XII in the series of *Papers for the Present*, for which the Cities Committee is responsible.

- 17a. Advertisement of a History of the British Empire.
  18. A June Morning, Noon and Evening at Sea. (Railway Poster.)
  19. Advertisements appealing for the Starving Children of Devastated War Regions.
  20. The Skilled Artistry of Vanity Fair.
  21. More Skilled Artistry of Vanity Fair.
  22. League of Nations Union Poster.
  23. Pictures of Cemeteries in the Flanders Battle-area.
  24. Monuments to Nurse Cavell, in Paris and London.
  25. Announcements of Arts and Civic Associations.
  - 25a. Illustrations of River Pageant to celebrate the Peace. (By Henry Wilson.)
  26. Arts League of Service—Travelling 'Company.'
  27. The "Daily Herald's" *Chanticleer*.
  28. The Employer as Trustee.
  29. Poster of the Civics Education League.
  30. Arts League of Service Poster. (Lectures in Central Hall, Westminster.)
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During the autumn the Sunday evening meetings of the Church of Humanity (London Positivist Society) have been devoted, according to the Society's announcement, to discourses on Plutarch, Herbert Spencer, Professor Bury on 'Progress,' and Raphael. The Positivist Society meets for discussion on the last Friday in September, October and November.

## REVIEWS.

A NEW CHAPTER IN THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT. By Benchara Branford. Chatto and Windus. London: 1919. 5/- net.

The first impression which the "New Chapter" may create in a reader—the first, at any rate, which it has created in the reviewer, is typographical. There are always at least five varieties of type. Sometimes there is clarendon: sometimes there are italics: sometimes there are capitals. Italics are stated in the index generally to express or imply maxims, "in the Aristotelian sense of major postulates": if it be so, the book is mainly a book of maxims. But it would rather appear that Mr. Branford is an ardent enthusiast, and that italics and capitals are the symbols of his enthusiasms. Yet enthusiasms and emphasis are possible within the limits of the printer's law; and the force which is purchased by a multiplication of founts really argues some weakness. There is a weakness in Mr. Branford's book; and it is a weakness of style. He has not a measured cadence: his voice rises gustily, and sometimes sinks into obscurity. He has a love for the magic of words, and can write finely about that magic: but he coins new words, in a way which modern geographers seem to affect, words which are bare and raw and uninviting and unnecessary, words like "peacedom" and "wardom" and the adjective "Britamerindian."<sup>1</sup> Often he is prone to a majestic but obscure diction: as Macaulay said of Mr. Gladstone, "he has one gift most dangerous to a speculator, a vast command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and uncertain import."

ὁ γὰρ τοῦ φθέγματος ὡς ἱεροῦ, καὶ σεμνοῦ, καὶ τερατώδους.

His book is a romantic tangled forest, with tall vague trees—intersected by mathematically regular clearings. The romantic forest, with its lofty maxims, reminds one of the style of *Also sprach Zarathustra*: the clearings (by which are to be understood scholastic classifications and tabular synopses), remind one of the writings of Herbert Spencer. But there is more forest than clearing. Mr. Branford has not the gift of marshalling his ideas in a logical sequence and a *lucidus ordo*. He drifts instead of steering: he is of the school of the prophets—and he is prophet in eruption full of whirling thoughts, and yet possessed of a central theme.

Many things meet in his book—prophesy, philosophy, biology, geography, scholasticism, Comtianism. It is bewildering—but still there is a central theme: and while from one point of view there is excursus piled upon excursus, from another there is a posing, and in some measure an answering, of a single problem. That problem, in a word, is the problem of reconciling contiguity with profession. This bald statement (the baldness is on the head of the reviewer, and not on that of the author) needs some amplification and expansion. Society, we may say, begins in a coherence based on the nexus of blood: it is a society of kinsmen. In time it acquires a coherence based on the nexus of contiguity: it rests more on geography, and less on consanguinity: but geographical contiguity is still connected, perhaps more in idea than in fact, with consanguinity, and the fruit of the connection is the national state, whose members live together in a certain territory, but are (or rather conceive themselves to be) of a common birth or *natio*. Upon this growth there supervenes the nexus of a common occupation or profession—the nexus

1. See editorial note at end of review.

illustrated by the mediæval guild and the modern trade union; and with the appearance of the new nexus, at any rate in its modern form, syndicalism (which is the cult of the occupation or profession), takes its stand by the side of the old nationalism. When that happens you must reconcile the two "isms": you must fit the *syndicat* into the territorial society. And this, in the main, is what Mr. Branford sets himself to do. Using the metaphor of the weaver, as Plato used it in the *Politicus*, he would knit together in one texture occupational weft and geographical warp.

This fitting and knitting involves, to some extent, a rejection of the territorial State as it stands to-day—the State which claims the entire allegiance of all its citizens within, and acknowledges no allegiance to any higher society without. To Mr. Branford the State is not enough. He desires devolution upwards, upon a world-Society: he desires devolution downwards, upon the contained regions, districts, cities, villages—each in its degree: he desires also recognition not only of the world-society above and the contained areas below, but also of occupational or professional groups. In a word, he is an international and local devolutionist with a *souçon* of syndicalism—which is all, as it were, according to the latest fashion. The syndicalist element is not, indeed, very strong: Mr. Branford emphasizes the permanence and priority of the geographical units: "the home," he writes, "must ever transcend occupation." But he holds that society based simply on geographical units is not enough: that it means war and the rumour of war; that the connecting tissue of occupationalism (though it is hardly clear that occupationalism, internally dissociative will be anywhere connective) must somehow be added. He calls, therefore, on the British Commonwealth—believing, as he does, in the inherent political aptitude of its peoples—to lead and show the way of the addition, and by a new design of polity to render the greatest of all the services it has ever rendered to humanity. Internationalist as he is (it is interesting to see) he starts, after all, from the Commonwealth—or, as he terms it (alas) "the Britamerindian Commonwealth."

Immediately, he proposes a conference "appointed by both Houses of Parliament" (those at Westminster? or those at certain other places also? *non liquet*): a convention of the whole Commonwealth; and a committee reporting to that convention. Simultaneously, there are to be convened REGIONAL conventions (civic, regional, national) which are to act and move *pari passu* with the convention of the Commonwealth. (This suggests a plethora of conventions, and a happy optimism about their march *sed de his hactenus*). Ultimately, he hopes to see established, apparently as the fruit of these conferences, conventions and committees, a graded hierarchy of bicameral legislatures—civic, regional, national, international; and in bicameralism thus multiplied he sees achieved that fitting and knitting which he desires. For the lower chamber is to be geographical, like the present House of Commons: the upper chamber is to be occupational, as, at any rate in the yarn, the present House of Lords may be argued to be; and in the co-operation of the two the web of the new polity may be fitly knit together, and old territorialism may be wedded to new occupationalism. Finance is to correspond to legislation: there is to be a dual taxation: one set of taxes is to be geographical, "according to family ability to pay," and another occupational, falling on "the groups of allied occupations." There is also to be a double judicature to the geographical judges by whom we are now judged there are to be added "guild arbitrators"—but who the latter are, and what they are to do, is left vague, and reserved for another enquiry, as "a vast and far-reaching matter that demands special and long consideration in itself."

This is the central fortress and keep of the new polity; but the author adds several outworks, some of them in a fanciful style of architecture. The lower and



geographical chamber will, we are told, represent youth: the upper and occupational chamber will represent maturity and "senescence." The former will thus be progressive and the latter conservative; while it is also suggested that the one will perhaps tend to be preponderantly masculine, and the other preponderantly feminine. (Mr. Branford, it should be remarked, is a convinced believer in the political potentialities of womanhood). Some of these things may remind us of Plato—the Plato of the *Laws*; but indeed they may also remind us of all builders of Utopias and Oceanas and new cities of Atlantis. Utopias have their place (in spite of their name of "no-place") in political speculation. They are lights set on a hill, though they are sometimes whimsical lights: they may guide progress, though they may betray the eager progressive into a quagmire. That second chambers may come to be occupational is a dream that many of us have dreamed. It is not clear that it is a wise dream. A thoroughly occupational second chamber might be too strong a Second Chamber. When there is a cabinet, the cabinet must serve one master. That master must be the territorial or lower house. Those who believe in the cabinet system (and the reviewer, in spite of the last five years, still hopes and believes), may well urge that in any projected reconstruction of the second chamber it is always necessary to remember and weigh the effects of reconstruction upon that system. Mr. Branford has hardly remembered or weighed these things. And there is perhaps another thing which, in his gentle optimism, he has hardly remembered enough. He proposes that the occupational chamber should fairly represent, in an equitable ratio, employers and employed, and that in every group or occupation the two sides, after consultation with other groups, should reach some agreement on this matter. Is this likely? Is it not most likely that the two sections in each group will disagree, and, furthermore, that each group will disagree with each other about its proper quota?

Mr. Branford again and again refers to history. He makes concessions again and again, in general terms, to historic tradition; but he is more Platonic than Aristotelian in his attitude to the past. He loves, indeed, the Middle Ages, which have come into fashion in their days of "guilds": but he loves them somewhat indiscriminately, and without enough fullness of knowledge. He makes some historical slips. It is an error (an error partly corrected in a footnote to the index) to attribute the "grand design" to Henri IV: it is an error to say that "peeresses once sat in the Upper Chamber": it is an error to say that the Guild Alderman became merged in his modern namesake. Mr. Branford is apt to make history fit the bed of his theory: and when he suggests that the bicameral system is a subconscious product of two sociological functions, he is oblivious to the simple historical fact that the English bicameral system is simply an accident,—an accidental development, due to certain particular causes which operated in the fourteenth century, of the mediæval system of Estates—an accidental development which, owing to certain other particular causes which operated after 1783, has been generally copied elsewhere.

But it is idle, and unjust, to censure Mr. Branford for slips of history. He is all things—prophet, historian, biologist, Comtist, geographer, and economist—a synthesis, necessarily imperfect in many departments, of nearly all departments. The modern geographer is apt to love synthesis, and Mr. Branford is enamoured of it. But he is at his best not in synthesis, but in flashes and *aperçus*. Some of his flashes are fanciful: indeed there is a good deal that is fanciful in his book—as when, connecting organisation with organic, and organic with growth, and growth with agriculture, he argues that Germany has showed a great gift of organisation, because there was "agricultural conservative thought in the higher polity of Germany." It is part of his fancy to schematise life in triads: and to write (as he does in § 4) a sort of Athanasian Creed: it is another part to build bridges of connection that

carry nothing and connect nothing. But his flashes can also be just, and sane and illuminating: and sometimes they rise into a sort of Nietzschean prose-poetry. He speaks well and soundly about the real meaning of Labour, and against the vindication of that term for manual work, as if it were the only labour: he argues well and soundly that work should itself be education, which is a deep and pregnant "maxim." In a word, Mr. Branford is, as it were, in a smithy. The lump of hot metal which he beats on the anvil assumes no very definite shape. But there are plenty of sparks.

ERNEST BARKER.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE.

In the interest of accuracy of fact and relevance in interpretation, an editorial intervention between reviewer and author seems desirable at this point. The author did not invent, nor does he claim to have invented, the words "wardom" and "peacedom." He uses them as terms needed and already introduced into sociology to express factual observations for which neither common language nor the extant terminology of the science supplied a single word. Just as chemical and physiological analysis necessitated new words, like oxygen and protoplasm, so sociological analysis necessitates words like wardom and peacedom. For an instance of the quite definite usage of these terms in the technical sense they were originally intended to serve, the reader may be referred to p. 124 of the current *Review*. As to the form of the words, they are unpleasant to the ear, but to infer on that account they are "unnecessary" is doubtless to exhibit an unconscious animus of the kind which psycho-analysts are teaching us to regard as symptoms of social disease no less than of personal disharmonies. For instance, when Bentham invented and introduced the work "international," there were probably critics who objected to it on grounds of linguistic purity and non-necessity, when they were animated also by instinctive aversion to the incipient changes of thought and sentiment which the coming of the word indicated.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By William McDougall. Methuen & Co. London: 1920.

The attainment of the 14th edition within a little more than a decade of the first publication of Dr. McDougall's "Introduction to Social Psychology" is a striking tribute both to the interest now taken in the subject and to the lucidity of exposition which marks Dr. McDougall's work. His system is based on a few primary concepts. The foundation stone of mind-structure is instinct, which is definite as "an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive, and to pay attention to, objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or, at least, to experience an impulse to such action." From these specific innate tendencies Dr. McDougall distinguishes certain non-specific tendencies such as suggestion, imitation, a tendency to play, emulation, and so on. Out of these simple elements are built up all the more complex dispositions and systems of dispositions which in the author's view determine the institutions, groupings, and other phenomena of society. Armed with these distinctions he proceeds in the second part of the work to explain the fundamental characters of society.

With the first or analytical part we need not here concern ourselves. It is still subject to much dispute among psychologists and is likely to remain so. The problem of distinguishing primary from secondary, original from derived, simple from compounded elements of the mind—if indeed we can speak in such terms at all—is extremely difficult. The rationale of the distinction which makes, for example, love

a sentiment and admiration not a sentiment but a "complex affective state" is open to much debate. These problems, however, belong to the psychologist and not to the sociologist.

What we are concerned with here is the second part of the work in which Dr. McDougall professes to show the operation of primary tendencies of the mind on the life of society. It is this part, if any, which would justify the attribute "social" in the expression Social Psychology. Dr. McDougall insists that psychology is a necessary foundation of the social sciences, and with his general position we may agree. Whether we ought, in that case, to define psychology as "the positive science of behaviour" is another question altogether. It is hard to see how under that definition the social sciences can be anything but branches of psychology, a position which is otherwise unsound and is certainly not corroborated by Dr. McDougall's own application of the psychological method in the latter part of his work.

This part begins with a chapter intended to show the operation of the reproductive and the parental instincts in the life of society. We are told that "the reproductive instinct is in a sense anti-social rather than social." After this remarkable statement the author declares that statistics show that "the numbers of marriages and births in various countries vary with the cost of the prime necessities of life and with the prosperity of trade and agriculture." This seems to imply a direct relation between economic prosperity and the increase of the birth-rate, which, of course, is quite contrary to the more recent experience of nearly all civilized countries. On page 269 Dr. McDougall explains that the parental instinct involves self-sacrifice, and that therefore the most solemn social sanctions are formed in order to maintain it. "These sanctions," he says, "are in the main the more solemnly and rigidly maintained by any society, the higher the degree of civilization attained by it and the freer and more nearly universal the play of the intellectual faculties among the members of that society." This sweeping statement will surprise anybody who is familiar with the social life either of primitive or of advanced peoples and, in fact, Dr. McDougall, in the same chapter, contradicts it by a statement as to the weakening in the civilizations of Greece and Rome of the social sanctions of the parental and reproductive instincts. It is almost impossible to derive anything in the way of a consistent explanation from Dr. McDougall's account. He tells us, on the one hand, that, owing to social selection, the strength of the instinct is maintained from generation to generation, while, on the other hand, he tells us that civilization develops influences that weaken the social supports of the parental instincts. One feels, in reading this chapter as in those that follow, that Dr. McDougall has no methodology applicable to the form of explanation which he has undertaken.

The succeeding chapter on the instinct of pugnacity bears out this conclusion. Again the idea of selection is used to explain the development of the instinct of pugnacity, and that in turn is regarded as playing an important part in the evolution of social qualities. Using as an example the tribes of Borneo, Dr. McDougall maintains that the fiercer temper of the hill tribes is due to the more bracing climate of the central regions, a simplicity of explanation which contrasts strangely with the methods of writers like Westermarck or Wundt. The dogmatic assumption that pugnacity determines the survival of the more energetic individuals and groups shows an ignorance of the results of such work as that of Seeck in his classic exposition of the Downfall of Ancient Civilizations. And it is hard to resist challenging such *ipse dixit*, as, for example, the assertion that the Chinese "are deficient in those social qualities which may be summed up under the one word conscientiousness."

Many further instances might be adduced. I add a few, not in any spirit of captious criticism, but simply to show that no analysis of the mind-structure, however

admirable, can suffice to produce a sociology. Take, for example, the aggregation of special trades in special localities or streets, such as the doctors in Harley Street or the coachbuilders in Longacre. This the author explains in terms of "imitation." He thinks it is a curious anomaly under a competitive system, not realizing that the competitive system encourages that very arrangement owing to the economic value of the concentration of demand. He explains the tendency away from free trade towards tariff reform also as due to a process of imitation, a method of explanation which is distinctly more abstract than that of which he accuses the classical economists who are supposed to have postulated the "economic man." These instances reveal the fundamental defect in the definition of psychology as the science of behaviour. The life of men in society cannot be explained without relation to their environments, and a psychologist who relies purely on the psychological approach is utterly unable to explain the concrete reactions of men to specific situations in time and space. His explanation becomes abstract, almost metaphysical. Psychology is, as Dr. McDougall insists, an indispensable propaedeutic to social science. When it goes further under the ambiguous name of "social psychology," and endeavours to explain the social structure in terms of instinct and sentiment, it necessarily fails. No student of social science can well help contrasting the grasp and lucidity of the first part of Dr. McDougall's book with the hesitancy and incoherence of the latter part.

R. M. MACIVER.

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THE CASE FOR NATIONALIZATION. By A. Emil Davies. Allen and Unwin. London: 1920.

Mr. Emil Davies' new book, "The Case for Nationalization," carries on admirably the contention of his earlier book "The Collectivist State in the Making," which in its new edition is named "The State in Business." The case for nationalization as presented by Mr. Davies is that private competition involves waste and a displacement of the conception of service by the desire for private gain. It is shown (Chapter V) that communal enterprises have been successful in shipping, banking, and general trade, but the examples are naturally taken from countries other than ours. The difficulties in the way of nationalizing any great industry in the United Kingdom are frankly stated, and the discussion of the influence of the "governing class" is particularly good. From the point of view of the workers the chief issues are the right to strike in a nationalized industry and the possibility of a share in management being given to the workers. Methods of nationalization are discussed and the objections to it are fully stated.

The arguments for and against are so well known that it is unnecessary to review them here; and it is clearly impossible to assert exactly the value of the case put forward by Mr. Davies without a very long economic and political discussion. But Mr. Davies' book has an immense value quite apart from the thesis he maintains; for it is an excellent collection of opinions and statements of fact from a great variety of sources. The opinions of those who oppose nationalization are given in full, especially when they confess unwillingly to the utility of state ownership or management; and thus the book is fundamental for the study not only of the actual arguments but of the political conceptions of our time. There is a prevailing obsession with economic issues. Nationalization or state ownership is discussed by both sides in the political field without any reference to the character of political government. The ideas underlying the arguments of both sides are those of economic efficiency; what is really disputed is whether it will "pay" or whether we can get

more coal or better services under state ownership or state management. No one refers to the effect upon law and justice of making the state into an economic organization; and the economists, both professional and amateur, are ignorant of current political philosophy. This is not a complaint. It is a statement of fact. Mr. Davies' book only makes that fact more obvious; and it is of great value to have such a candid review of the leading economic problem of our times, given in the words of practical men, which entirely excludes the conception of the state or government developed in most writings on political science or philosophy. Is the state, then, an economic organization? But if so, is the present parliamentary and administrative system adequate? These questions are not raised by Mr. Davies, but they rise in the mind of his reader.

C. D. B.

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At the meeting of the Council of the Sociological Society in June it was proposed to initiate a collaboration between the *Sociological Review* and the leading universities of England, Scotland, and Wales for the purpose of noting, reviewing, and abstracting the current literature of sociology and issuing these reviews and abstracts as a quarterly supplement, which could be bound at the end of the year into a Sociological Yearbook. Various exponents of the social sciences, such as Messrs. McDougall, Myres and Marett at Oxford, Professor Westermarck at London, and Professor Fleure at Aberystwyth, had expressed their approval of this project, and had undertaken to enlist the co-operation of their seminar students in distributing the work. Owing to the limitations of space placed upon the *Sociological Review* because of inadequate financial support, and owing partly to the fact that, for the same reason, proper editorial assistance cannot be obtained, the *Review* is unable for the present to carry on this project. This does not mean that the proposal has been finally abandoned. It will, on the contrary, be revived and carried out as soon as the requisite material support is forthcoming; since the absence of any adequate machinery for dealing with contemporary sociological inquiry is a serious reflection upon the position of British scholarship in the social sciences. For the present, the student who seeks to keep in touch with current sociological thought cannot look for adequate help in British periodicals, and we are therefore compelled to refer him to the *Revue de L'Institut de Sociologie*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, and the *Revista Italiana di Sociologia*, which pretty well cover the field. Every scholar will agree that the publication of an adequate digest of contemporary contributions to his science is in itself sufficient reason for a learned periodical's existence, and the inability of the *Sociological Review* to perform this function under its present circumstances shows how little public recognition there is of the importance of scientific apparatus in social science.

The publications of *La Musée Sociale* in the three numbers from May to August embrace the following topics: The Organization of the Struggle against Syphilis, by Dr. Leredde (June); Poland, Economic and Social, by André Lichtenberger (May); and the League of Red Cross Societies, by Wm. E. Rappard (July-August).

The Senate of the University of Liverpool has awarded the Diploma in Social Studies to Misses Celia Cook, Margaret Harford and Enid Rawson, and the Certificate in Social Studies to Misses Frances Carpenter, Beryl Harris, and Mr. Edward Roberts.



## BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY.** Papers and Proceedings: Fourteenth Annual Meeting, American Sociological Society. Held at Chicago, Ill., December 29-31, 1919. Volume xiv, 295 pages. University of Chicago Press. Chicago: 1920.

**THE HUMAN MOTOR, or The Scientific Foundations of Labour and Industry.** By Jules Amar. 470 pages, with 309 illustrations and numerous tables. Routledge. London: 1920. 30/- net.

**THE REAL WEALTH OF NATIONS, or A New Civilization and its Economic Foundations.** By John S. Hecht. 350 pages. George G. Harrap & Co. London: 1920. 15/- net.

**THE GEOGRAPHY OF PLANTS.** By M. E. Hardy. 327 pages; 115 illustrations. Oxford University Press. Oxford: 1920.

**A PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.** By E. J. Urwick. Revised Second Edition; First Edition, 1912. 244 pages. Methuen & Co. London: 1920. 7/6 net.

**COMMUNITY: A Sociological Study, Being an Attempt to Set out the Nature and Fundamental Laws of Social Life.** By R. M. Maciver. Revised Second Edition; First Edition, 1917. 438 pages. Macmillan. London: 1920. 15/- net.

**CHAOS AND ORDER IN INDUSTRY.** By G. D. H. Cole. 292 pages. Methuen & Co. London: 1920. 7/6 net.

**HOUSING AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM.** By Carol Aronovici. 163 pages. McClurg & Co. Chicago: 1920.

**AN AMERICAN LABOR POLICY.** By Julius Henry Cohen. 110 pages. Macmillan. New York: 1920. 5/6 net.

**THE REMAKING OF A MIND: A Soldier's Thoughts on War and Reconstruction.** By Henry De Man. 289 pages. Allen & Unwin. London: 1920. 7/6 net.

**CONTRE L'IMPÉRIALISME OUVRIER, Contre Les Routines Sociales Patronales, Pour la Démocratie organisée.** Par Georges Hostelet. Edité par l'auteur. 30, Avenue de la Floride, Bruxelles. 68 pages. Brussels: 1919.

**THE JOY OF EDUCATION.** By William Platt. Introduction by John Adams. 146 pages. G. Bell & Sons. London: 1920. 2/6 net.

**THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE: A Study in Administration.** By William L. Wanlass. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. 131 pages. Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore: 1920.

**THE FOREIGN TRADE OF CHINA.** By Chong Su See. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. 451 pages. Columbia University. New York: 1919.

**THE POLITICS OF THE PROLETARIAT: A Contribution to the Science of Citizenship based chiefly on the Sociology of Auguste Comte.** By Malcolm Quin. 155 pages. Allen & Unwin. London: 1920. 5/- net.

**PUBLIC SERVICES: Handbook of information on Social Service, revised and enlarged, published by the National Council of Social Service.** 96 pages. P. S. King & Co. London: 1920. 2/- net.

**SPIRITUALISM: Its Present Day Meaning.** A Symposium, edited by Huntly Carter. 285 pages; six illustrations. T. Fisher Unwin. London: 1920. 18/- net.

**THE GROUP MIND: A Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology with some Attempt to Apply them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character.** By William McDougall. 21/- net. 304 pages. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: 1920. (Will be reviewed in the next number of the *Sociological Review*.)

## BEGINNINGS OF A SURVEY OF EDINBURGH.

By Prof. P. GEDDES, Outlook Tower.

*(With Illustrations.)*

THE survey of our city and its region is of fundamental importance alike in the understanding of their past and present, and towards the preparation of the Greater Edinburgh of the near future.

Such a survey has long been in progress, and with stimulus to its workers in Edinburgh, and to wider initiatives beyond, *e.g.* as nucleus of the long itinerant Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, the Regional Association, etc. Beyond the interpretation of the conditions of the city of the present we seek to connect our studies of contemporary conditions with their origins—local, regional, and general. This inquiry requires, first, a survey of our geographical environment in its fullest and deepest aspects; secondly, a survey also of the history of the city and region, and of Scotland in particular; with general history so far as bearing on this, and necessarily, therefore, from the earliest beginnings of civilisation. We are thus learning to view history not as mere archaeology, not as mere annals, but as the study of social filiation. That is, the determination of the present by the past; and the tracing of this process in the phases of transformation, progressive or degenerative, which our city has exhibited throughout its various periods—Ancient, Mediæval, Renaissance, and Industrial—with each of these in its earlier and its later developments. We seek thus to interpret our observation of the present, and even to discern something of the opening future; for that also is already incipient, as next season's buds are already here.

Such a detailed and comprehensive survey of a city is necessarily difficult and laborious, though not insuperably so; and it is therefore not surprising that there are students and workers in education and in

the housing and town-planning movements who hesitate to undertake or even encourage such surveys, lest good and urgent work be delayed. Let us here waive this controversy; and with the series of maps before us run over some of the main phases of the development of Edinburgh.

Recall in outline the general topography of old Edinburgh—a great volcanic rock—the surviving lava-plug of a crater worn away by the Ice Age, and with a long ridge or “tail” running downhill eastwards from the “crag” to low ground at the foot of Salisbury Crags and Arthur’s Seat. Thus, from the fairly lofty Outlook Tower, almost at the apex of the ridge, we can command a view at once of the rock and its huge castle to the westward, and of the old city running down the ridge to the east. The seaport of Leith is on the coast to northward, and the New Town lies between; while nearer still, betwixt us and the varied façades of Princes Street, lies the valley of the old “Nor’ Loch,” intersected longitudinally by the railway, and transversely by the earthen Mound with its Art Galleries, and further east by the North Bridge, under which lies the vast station into which the railway line expands. Southward the city also extends for a couple of miles along each of the main roads to the south and south-west; so that the historic Castle and Old Town remain as a central head and backbone of the irregularly spread modern growth. Thus, while people still think and speak of Edinburgh mainly in terms of its Mediæval and Renaissance “Old Town,” and its eighteenth-century “New Town,” the modern Edinburgh and Leith extend far around these in all directions, and include a population which is now nearly approaching half a million, which seems destined to considerable further expansion, and which is thus in need of fuller consideration, economic, hygienic, and civic, than it has yet received.

From the very outset of our survey of a city, we must observe and understand it in its region. The Tower overlooks the city in both its immediate and its greater landscape. The first of these ranges from the Pentland Hills to the Firth of Forth, and shows the city fringed at each level with the appropriate rustic life, from the sportsman’s solitudes and pastoral hamlets of the Pentland slopes, as notably R. L. Stevenson’s Swanston, through the agricultural and the mining villages of the Lothian plain to the characteristic fishing ones along the coast. Thus the real country is accessible on every hand, and its villages are not yet the mere suburban dormitories into which those around London and other great cities have so largely become transformed. Yet this landscape is but a fraction of the larger visible whole. To north and east we have the widening estuary of the Firth of Forth, with Fife and its towns upon the opposite shore. Westward, the Forth Bridge is seen overleaping the mile of the old Queen’s Ferry; beyond this lies the old yet renewing city of Dunfermline, extended to include Roayth. The spacious anchorage of the Upper Forth has also its mercantile ports. Finally, far beyond Stirling, the great Highland hills rise against the sunset. Thus one readily realises the situation of Edinburgh as making it a convenient metropolis not only for its region but for Scotland itself.

Yet we cannot trace our Capital city from its early beginnings upon the castle rock without understanding it as a local hill-fort associated with seaport and agricultural plain; and as arising after the departure of the Romans, as a defence against the incursions of the Northmen. Indeed to understand a city of this type we must go further afield than ever. Hence the real comparison of Edinburgh and Athens—each plainly a hill-fort associated at once with a seaport and with an agricultural plain. This combination of an Acropolis with its Piræus and its Attica is common throughout Mediterranean Europe, though less frequent in the north; and such a threefold co-operation is conducive alike to agricultural efficiency, to maritime enterprise and commerce, and to regional as well as civic culture. Thus we see the traditional comparison of Edinburgh with Athens has really little to do with our eighteenth and nineteenth century imitations of Greek temples or Greek sophistries, but lies far deeper, in geographical and historical origins.

The Roman occupation had no use for Edinburgh, though its defences and monuments are not far to seek around. Yet at least one far older, indeed prehistoric, survival remains significant through the ages, and is even beginning to renew its old-world life in these present years. Every Rambler round Arthur's Seat must notice the long range and succession of prehistoric cultivation terraces which rise like a gigantic stairway upon its gentle and sheltered eastward slope—terraces unmistakably of the same essential build as those which line the Mediterranean coasts from Spain and Portugal to Palestine, and thence run eastward through Persia to Korea. Traces of what are plainly kindred terraces, and better situated ones, are still discernible upon the southward slope of old Edinburgh; and the traveller of historic interests need hardly be reminded how these old terraces have constantly furnished the base-line for fortress walls in the Middle Ages; yet how they also developed into the stately Renaissance terrace-gardens of the succeeding and more pleasure-loving time. Mr. Mears' illustration (Fig. 4, p. 304) shows these terraces taken from their immemorial peaceful use to afford the lines and bases for successive city walls, with at least one great defensive bastion—that of the West Bow. We find them next becoming built over, or, where surviving at all, largely deteriorating into slum areas, sometimes even derelict, their very ownership forgotten; yet at length becoming once more renewed as gardens for the people. Thus, after long ages of warlike history, our women and children are returning to their gentle tasks of old, their setting of herb and tending of flower. This is but a small example, yet a vital one, of the renewing modern life and use of even what may have been a forgotten past: in this case, the longest forgotten. Thus one survival after another becomes in its turn significant; for the soil of the past teems with its dormant seeds, each ready to leap into life anew, be this as weed or flower.

The section across the head of the Old Town shows the terraces as the necessary sites of defensive walls, and thus explains the early origins of that congestion of recent and even present times, which is still so serious a difficulty for Edinburgh. For though the walls are forgotten,

the resultant land-values remain not a little prohibitive. It explains, again, that deficient water-supply which was so long an efficient cause of the historic dirt of old Edinburgh; while this dirt and that overcrowding, with their accompanying intensity and increasing variety of disease, have been prime factors in the development of Edinburgh as once and again the metropolis of medicine, just as the fire calls out the fireman's powers, the wreck the sailor's. It is by no mere accident that Pasteur, and his foremost disciple Lister, should have been aroused to their cleansing tasks in the midst of cities so pre-eminent in their overcrowding, their dirt and disease, as old Paris and old Edinburgh. Thus our city survey continually brings out the strange alternation and interaction of good and evil, evil and good.

Take, now, the later perspective of Edinburgh at the conclusion of the Middle Ages and the coming on of the Reformation (Fig. 9, p. 313). Just as the Reformation in England was a generation later than in Germany, so in Scotland it was a generation later still; and hence an intensification of the wars between England and Scotland. Recall, now, what to an Englishman seems a well-nigh forgotten incident, the battle of Flodden in 1513, so disastrous to Edinburgh that traditionally only one survivor returned; and then see, in the remains of the Flodden Wall, thereafter hastily pushed out beyond the then existing ones, the marks of hurried and unskilled building against the threatened invasion by the victor. This invasion, however, did not come for another generation; then note the remarkable early drawing (Plate A), presumably by the war correspondent accompanying the Earl of Hertford's invasion of 1544, and showing his advance to the taking and destruction of Edinburgh, and again that showing the siege of 1573. Now realise the immediate consequences of such repeated calamities (and there were far more)—a community denuded time after time of its active men—fathers and sons swept away in successive generations, with few save women, children, and old men left, and with unnumbered fugitives from the devastated country crowding in, time after time, to take shelter behind the walls. Here, then, are conditions, among the most intense in history, for that evolution of overcrowding and squalor, with their attendant and complicating evils, which to this day are the reproach of old Edinburgh and her most tragic legacy from the past.

The complex strife and civil wars of the Reformation continued long. They were followed little more than a generation later by another largely ruinous disaster to Edinburgh as the metropolis, in the accession of King James VI. to the English crown. In less than another generation and a half begin the new calamities of civil war, of Cromwellian defeats and occupation; then, again, after the Restoration, the ruthless persecution of the Covenanters, with practically a renewing of the Civil Wars under Charles II. and James II. Next, the difficulties of the Revolution of 1688; and yet again a ruin of Edinburgh as the centre of Parliament (and its expenditures) by the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, while following upon this came successively the collapse of Scottish Imperialism in the Darien scheme, and the Civil Wars of 1715 and 1745. Each of these events, at the time tragic enough, is recorded



in the monuments and buildings of our city, or in the ruins and dilapidations of these; and the conception thus grows clearer of one of the most distressful of old countries, in which each and all the evils destructive of historic cities have raged by turns, if not together, and that repeatedly, seldom sparing a generation from the end of the thirteenth century to well on in the eighteenth. The impassioned and adventurous Scot, colonising or militant, political and ruling, and the canny Scot, cautious and reserved to an extravagant degree, who by turns appear to the romantic or the practical Englishman as the essential and predominant Scottish type, have thus both been developed in such a troubled environment, the one by facing it among his fellows, the other by shrinking into his own small affairs: and the strange yet constant alternations of our Edinburgh architecture—here of picturesqueness, there of utilitarian plainness—thus appear as the natural and necessary expressions in architecture of these contrasted social types. Architecture and town-planning in such a city, we thus plainly see, are not the mere products of the quiet drawing-office as some believe them; they are the expressions of the local history, the civic and national changes of mood and contrasts of mind. Here, indeed, is an answer to those town-planners who design a shell, and then pack their snail of a would-be progressive city into it, not discerning that the only real and well-fitting shell is that which the creature at its growing periods throws out from its own life. This is no doctrine of *laissez faire*; it is simply the recognition that each generation, and in this, each essential type and group of it, must express its own life, and thus make its contribution to its city in its own characteristic way.

Returning to the elementary standpoint of town study, the growth of our mediæval town may now be traced downwards, from the Castle and its vacant space—the military zone of a bow-shot distance—beyond which we descend by the steep Castle Wynd, now a staircase, to the spacious old Grassmarket, from the earliest times the agricultural import centre of the city until the recent removal of our cattle-markets. At the same point begins the narrow Castlehill, the earliest suburb, and evidently at the outset a mean one. This soon widens, however, into the spacious Lawnmarket and High Street, 100 feet broad, laid out in the twelfth century as the centre of a new town complete with church and gardens; and formerly arcaded on either side—in its day, as the letters of French or Venetian Ambassadors in Scotland show, the stately street in Europe. To meet the gate of this old Edinburgh midway down the ridge there begins uphill from Holyrood Abbey, the Canon-gait—from the first a garden suburb; and after the plunder of the Reformation largely made up of the mansions of the nobles, a few of which survive to this day.

Note, next, outside the Burgh to the south, the situation taken up by the various orders of Friars. Then see how their old preaching intensity renews in that of the Reformation and the Covenant, and again in later times. For to this day the "Old Greyfriars" churchyard is the Campo Santo of Scotland; and this again has made Edinburgh the successor of Geneva as the central and sacred city of the Calvinist world.

Note, again, how it is in this very area we trace the beginnings of the development of the University, of hospitals, and great schools. Compare this now with Oxford, and see how colleges arose in the exactly corresponding sites vacated by the Friars outside the walls. Thence go back to an earlier type still—that of Florence—and note its two great poles of tradition in religion and culture, and thus in art and architecture, afforded by the same Friars, grey and black, at Santa Maria and Santa Croce. As before, in comparison with ancient Athens, so now with notable mediæval cities, British and foreign, we see how our studies throw light upon their ancient plans. Their apparent medley is more orderly than we knew; their unique physiognomy but the individual variant of some general type.

Enough, now, of Mediæval and Renaissance Edinburgh. Let us come to the Modern world, in the main, as we know it, Utilitarian and Industrial; this, as elsewhere in Great Britain, comes into power with the Revolution of 1688. See how in old Edinburgh the new type of modern utilitarian building at once arises amid the mediæval timber-work and the Renaissance stone mansions, in the tall block proudly inscribed by its builder-architect, the seventh King's master-mason of his family, as "Milne's Court, 1690," and recently repaired by the city authorities. With the revival of agriculture consequent upon peace, and the increase of commerce helped by the rise of the new trading class upon the ruins of the Cavaliers, the improvement of the old town begins more rapidly a generation later with small beginnings of formal planning; for after the opening up of James Court (1726) we venture next to build a John Street, off Canongate, the small Brown Square, and at length lay out the spacious George Square. The Jacobite wars of 1715 and 1745 are, after all, but minor interruptions of this growing prosperity; and half a generation later the increasingly prosperous Edinburgh community, stirred, no doubt, by the contemporary improvement of London, then beginning to lay out its spacious and dignified squares, resolved, under the leadership of a really great edile, Lord Provost Drummond, upon city development and town-planning proper. Hence Craig's "Plan of the New Town" of 1765, which was realised in the generation ending with 1800. The original New Town had next its northern extension by 1822, and thence to 1830. Examples of the high state of town-planning in 1817 are found in the series of plans selected from a competition held by the Corporation of Edinburgh in 1817, for the area northward of Calton Hill.<sup>1</sup> Here, then, we have a period of town-planning and of architectural execution surpassing even the lesson of London; yet breaking down, also, in its turn.

Our series of plans show this progress of design and construction, yet also bring out the reason of their arrest and breakdown, with abandonment of their unused spaces to contemporary squalor or confusion. These town-planners, with all their merits, made various grave mistakes. First, they omitted adequate consideration of relief and

<sup>1</sup> These are figured in the *Architectural Review* of October 1910. Copies are also in the Outlook Tower.

contour, and thus their office-made schemes broke down wherever the ground became seriously irregular, so demanding unforeseen outlays for foundations—here upon cliffs, or there on marshy hollows. They failed then very largely for want of a proper topographical survey and its contour-models; but also, and even more seriously, for want of any adequate social survey. These competitive plans show plainly that the designers—clients and corporations alike—assumed a practically indefinitely increasing population of the well-to-do—the lawyers, country gentlemen, merchants, and others for whom the new town was designed; and they forgot entirely, after the New Town Plan of 1765, with its first instalment of three rich streets and two poor ones, to provide for cheaper burgher dwellings, much less for workmen's homes. Thirdly, they omitted from consideration any provision for anything so vulgar as workshops, for any industry whatsoever; and, consequently, the formal beauty for which they had laboured was soon broken in upon and at many places destroyed by the necessary and inevitable filling up of any and every vacant space with any and every sort of irregular and utilitarian factory and workshop, as may be seen, for instance, in the dramatic contrast of stately residential order and planless equalor on opposite sides of the same street, *e.g.* Fettes Row, of the same monument even—witness St. Stephen's Church.

Does not, then, our study bring its gentle but decided criticism to bear upon much of the town-planning of our time, which, with all its specialising upon communications here or comfortable dwellings there, there forgets the industrial development, or even the small workshops, and here the popular well-being upon which every town essentially depends?

Turn now to our æsthetic town-planning. The builders of the new town at first cared little for the romantic old one they had deserted. Their ideas and tastes were classic, as were those of their time throughout Europe; and hence the classic High School, still one of the best examples of its Neo-Grecian style. Hence, too, the various classic monuments of the Calton Hill, culminating in the too colossal and unfinished colonnade of the National Monument, and more temperately continued in the Art Galleries of the Mound.

Yet the dramatic contrast of the picturesque castle and hill town with the regular and utilitarian modern new town, which is to this day the most striking of the many panoramic features of Edinburgh, was a great factor in the Romantic Movement, of which Sir Walter Scott made Edinburgh for a time the veritable capital. This new idealisation of the mediæval past, both in its temporal and its spiritual manifestations, so natural to a generation rebounding against the severe republicanism of the Revolution days, and the formal classicism of the Empire style which succeeded it, produced its speedy effect in the next generation. Hence that efflorescence of castellated gaols and "Scottish baronial" tenements or villas with which the next generation followed the architectural well-nigh as fully as the literary inspiration of Abbotsford.

This Calton Hill, with its strange medley of monuments, is thus a

museum of the battle of the styles, and a permanent evidence showing how the town-planners of one generation cannot safely count upon continuance by those of the next. This is not an argument against town-planning; but it brings out clearly the proposition that we shall do best by supplying the needs and expressing the ideas of our opening generation, without too great expectation of agreement from the next one, much less attempt to dominate it.

New churches, too, arose for all denominations—bad, good, or mostly at best indifferent—culminating in magnitude at least in St. Mary's Cathedral by Sir Gilbert Scott; which was, till Truro Cathedral surpassed it, the largest and most ambitious ecclesiastical edifice since the Reformation.

The romantic planners are now left behind by their successors. A period of new communications had been already opening, with its new and wider roads, its embankments, bridges, and viaducts. There is more civil engineering of this kind in Edinburgh than in any other city we know of. Our plans again bring out notable consequences of this development, yet equally unforeseen. On one side a disastrous increase in the social separation of classes, who had been in old Edinburgh so peculiarly mingled; so that the upper and middle classes have been wont to traverse old Edinburgh by viaducts high above the festering squalor below, and to live and die in practical indifference to it, and thus maintain that practical indifference to deplorable conditions which strikes every Continental visitor, even every American tourist, with an outspoken astonishment far from flattering to Edinburgh, yet for the same reason with too little effect upon it. Yet note also how this series of achievements of civil engineering culminates, for the city itself, in the beautiful Dean Bridge, which is one of Telford's masterpieces; while a few miles further on we come to the natural outlet and main highway of Edinburgh—that of the Forth Bridge, which but replaces its old Queen's Ferry. This most colossal of engineering achievements appears in its true light as a regional and therefore normal and natural product, when we consider the immediate civic environment of civil engineering achievements, each a triumph in its day, in which its promoters and its first designers grew up from boyhood. In an analogous connection the Forth and Clyde Canal, once of small barges, then of incipient steamships, and through the Railway Age in comparative insignificance, is now likely to give place to a Forth and Clyde Canal upon the oceanic scale, necessarily with unseen future transformations for Edinburgh. Almost since its foundation, and for many years before the present public interest, the alternative routes for this canal were on exhibition in the Outlook Tower, with a suggestion of their future Garden City, stretching from sea to sea.

From the great civil engineering of roads and bridges to the Railway Age which followed is, however, not so distinct a progress—in fact much otherwise, as our map of the development of the railway system of Edinburgh (Fig. 1) so tragically shows. This development of the old carrier system of Edinburgh by the “new firm of carriers,” as Lord Cockburn called it, naturally established its *dépôts* as near as possible to the old



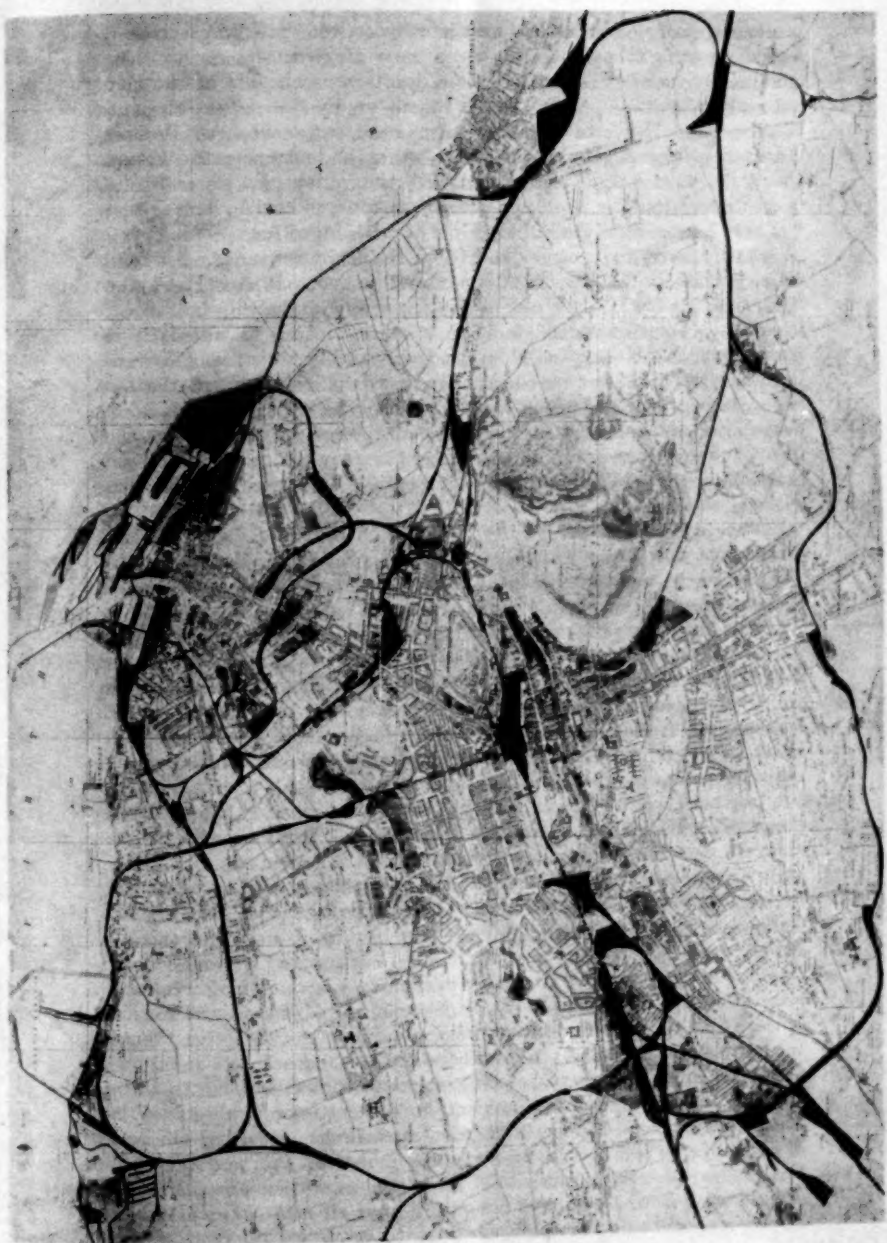


FIG. 1. — Edinburgh. Railway Development. Note how in Gorgie district the unplanned railways have grown to cover an area equal to that of the whole "New Town."

← Innocent Highway.



places of departure for east and west (north, too, and south respectively); and these have then grown by sheer force of circumstances to their modern dimensions. Thus, too, their depôts at each side of the city naturally, almost inevitably, became linked up by the railway through the Gardens. Hence the appropriately placed statue of Lord Provost Adam Black turning his back on the scene, and uttering his dictum that "Providence had plainly designed the valley of Princes Street Gardens for a railway." The practical question, of course, here arises: "Where better could the railway have been arranged for? Would you arrest all industry and progress, and dry up the very sources of wealth from which gardens can be obtained?" See therefore upon our plan (Fig. 1) the "Innocent Railway"—the oldest line entering Edinburgh, and direct from the great Midlothian coalfield; and we venture to submit it is plain that it is this practically designed railway line which should have been developed, rather than the existing mere following up of the old horse-carrier roads and depôts, had not this latter railway planning been incompetent through lack of grasp and foresight, and had not the town-planning interest and experience of the previous generation been totally lost sight of by a generation hastening to be rich and smitten with railway mania.

Observe in detail the weltering confusion of the railway lines of competitive companies which have invaded and well-nigh destroyed Gorgie and the region between Edinburgh and Leith, which latter was being so carefully planned only one generation before!

Next consider the far simpler net of the railway system as it might and should have been, and note in this the economy in space and in time, with gain, not loss, of efficiency, time, and convenience, and with saving of the city's beauty to boot. Of course this is but a sketch, inviting criticism by the expert, with no doubt modifications in detail. It is the general principle which is here boldly affirmed, that this railway system has not been the utilitarian success it still pretends itself, but has been, not merely half-ruinous to the beauty of Edinburgh, but structurally bungled and economically wasteful to all concerned—so much so, in fact, that it may yet be a question whether it may not pay some day to transform the railway system more or less as here suggested!

Surely most railway planning, whether in Edinburgh or beyond, is the most fortuitous bungle in the long history of cities, far exceeding in its present disorder and waste of space, time, and energy (to say nothing of natural beauty or human life) anything that has been or can be alleged against the decay of the Mediæval, the Renaissance, or the eighteenth-century cities and city plans, defective though we have seen each and all of these to have been in its turn, and disastrous in its decay. This point is not as vituperation, but to bring out the essential origins and tasks of our present town study; it is the necessary rebound of a new generation against the ideas, and the lack of ideas, of our elders of the railway and industrial age, and the practical endeavour now to mitigate the material confusion and the social deterioration in which their lapse of well-nigh all sense of civic responsibility and well-being has plunged us.

Turning now from communications to population, Dr. Bartholomew's map of Edinburgh shows it growing rapidly, much like other more obviously industrial cities in this railway age. It shows how readily and completely, even in this city so peculiarly inspired by the tradition of the three great preceding culture-periods, all alike for practical purposes became lost so far as city development is concerned. For newer districts this has arisen from the lower and more squalid types in the main, largely that of the West Port quarter, which each succeeding town plan unhappily neglected. Witness the wretchedly unplanned industrial suburb of Dalry, etc., which chokes the western exit; witness, too, the confusion, stretching far and near, round Holyrood, or that on the eastern and northerly quarters of Leith.

This zone of sordid industrial districts surrounding—say, indeed, immersing—the old town and the planned new town alike, has thus grown in a vicious circle with the misgrowth of the railway system, and our plans show plainly how Edinburgh has become, as far as it could, an ordinary manufacturing town—at many points now able to match Dundee, Glasgow, or Lancashire towns in their characteristic perspectives of squalor and dreariness of homes, of monotonous confusion of mean streets.

Yet we must not merely blame the early railway age or its continuators; nor do we forget the recent laying out of districts of house and garden for the prosperous community, and to-day for the workers as well. This industrial confusion is but the Nemesis of that forgetfulness of workshops and workers' homes which we noted in early nineteenth-century planning.

We are thus coming plainly abreast of the modern situation, and this as we see it in less obviously historic cities than Edinburgh; and we are now ready to criticise, not merely the apathetic standpoint of yesterday, but the well-intentioned efforts of to-day, when the community begins to look towards the problem of redressing the disorder which has thus thoughtlessly grown up.

Are, then, industrial developments to be discouraged, and the city to be left to its lawyers and parsons, its doctors and professors, to its retired villas and its conspicuous slums? Not so. The general and geological maps show exactly where the future industrial development of Edinburgh should be, and therefore will be, because it will pay to be—pay in energy and efficiency, in health and beauty, and therefore in money also. It will be upon that "Innocent Railway" which we saw for urban reasons should have been developed from the first, and now should be for regional reasons also. And it will be upon and beside the Midlothian coalfield, which, happily, lies east, not west of the city, and has its smoke mainly blown out to sea. Smoke, of course, is mere waste, soon to be suppressed by a more economic and more truly utilitarian civilisation, while, with this, an adequate development of electrical power, lighting and heating systems must naturally also arise, and this not only for its own uses, but also improving existing Edinburgh in ways for which a volume is required. Our survey, in fact, points straight towards its sequel; that of a Report with Plans of this

possible Newer Edinburgh, an industrial city and a garden city in one.

An indication of this growth, as already in instructive and unconscious progress—though for that reason unfortunately as yet quite unplanned—is afforded by the growing brewery village of New Duddingston. This exodus of the breweries from Central Edinburgh next begins to raise the question of the reorganisation of the present industrial confusion, and, with this, of the working-class quarters within the old town—in short, we have to supplement our vision of a newer Edinburgh by one of a better old Edinburgh also. We are, in fact, entering upon a period like that of 1765, upon a new spiral, of course; let us hope a less defective one. Does not, then, this study unmistakably bring out, not only the interest and the possibility of our Survey of a City, but its direct practical use—the way in which retrospect, rightly interpreted, not only illuminates the present, but sweeps through this, and forward again into intelligent foresight? With our greater populations and resources, our graver problems, our more anxious responsibilities, we are compelled to still greater magnitude of design than were our predecessors; but surely also to fuller reflection, to completer provision for all the many needs of life. Now the impending extension of the city gives room for an enlargement of its powers to an extent worthy alike of the opening social future, and of the continued place of Scotland as one of the Great Powers—of Culture, if no longer of material forces and alliances: of Edinburgh as one of the Great Cities—for in history those alone are great whose spiritual forces and influences are most out of proportion to their mere numbers.

## II.

The preceding criticism of the recent industrial order, or rather lack of order, together with the complementary indication of a policy of improvement within the city, and of expansion without, has brought us more fully up to the contemporary interests of active citizens than our far-away manner of opening seemed to promise. Yet, instead of now suggesting schemes for industrial and garden villages without, or of new clearances or thoroughfares within, as the prevalent custom is, let us simply return to our Survey, still far from ended—indeed, really only beginning for truly modern purposes with our disillusionment with the “progress” of the industrial and railway age.

Let us resort rather to that form of mental relief common to all save the poorest classes of our industrial world—that of taking the tourist and holiday view of Edinburgh, from which indeed our city largely derives its wealth, like much of Scotland.

There are two ways of looking at old Edinburgh—as a centre, indeed a very metropolis—of Squalor, yet likewise of Romance. We are preparing now to finally get rid of the appalling squalor of the old town in its buildings and courts, and correspondingly of its slum life. Throughout the nineteenth century, as already indicated, this state of things has been mainly accepted by the middle and governing classes as a permanent

supply of human material for its confused charities, for its vast schools of medicine and anatomy, and for its manifold religious endeavours. Yet, as the medical school has its long roll of heroes, of whom Simpson and Lister are but the chief, so the philanthropists and divines have also largely justified themselves in types like Dr. Guthrie, the organiser of ragged schools, and Dr. Chalmers, the originator of the Elberfeld system, or Dr. Begg, a pioneer in housing many years ago; while the too sweeping would-be sanitary clearances, like those of Provost William Chambers and most of his successors, are also seen to be not entirely inexcusable, despite their inevitable resultants of transferred pressure in higher local rents, land-values, and general taxes, etc.

For Romance, on the other hand, we may think of the Old Town as represented in Mr. Bruce Home's admirable drawings or in the "Old Edinburgh Street" of the International Exhibition of 1886, probably the most admirable reconstruction of an ancient city yet effected, and a suggestion of what may yet be done in some of our old quarters in permanent form. Beginnings of this domestic revival have, in fact, since been made at Dean Village, and in High Street, etc., as in the buildings of University Hall, and later in the renovation of Moubray House and Milne's Court.

The exact coincidence, both in time and space, of this revival in domestic architecture, with the romantic tales and admirable "Edinburgh" of Robert Louis Stevenson, once more show how the mental attitude of a generation and its expression in material and literary art are normally at one. All are plainly derived from Scott, and arise by the revival of his spirit in presence of the broken survivals of his picturesque environment before the inroad of the railway and full onset of the industrial and financial age. The restoration of the interior of St. Giles' and that of Edinburgh Castle are similar and contemporary examples of the work of the past generation at its best. This connection is still more plain when we note that both these great works were carried out at the initiative and expense of William Chambers and of William Nelson respectively, two of our leading printers and publishers—a group among whom there still reappear, perhaps more naturally than in any other class, the combined virtues of scholar and of citizen.

Our Survey may next turn to what can be done here and there meanwhile with moderate means and ordinary folk, with such labour and time as they can spare. Hence our "Outlook Tower Open Spaces Committee," with its survey of every open space amid the slums; and these within the "Historic Mile," despite its overcrowding, amount to no less than seventy-five pieces, measuring about ten acres in all. This Survey again leads to "Report"—that is to plan, to action; and ten or a dozen of these have already been reclaimed into gardens, accessible to school and street children and to women, to the people generally, whilst others are in preparation as circumstances and scanty funds allow. Thus appears again the principle and point of view of the whole historic survey by calling attention to these as a veritable renewal of the cultivation terraces of our initial and prehistoric survey. As a practical point it may be added that, despite all that is too commonly said of rough



population and the rest, no mischief worth mentioning is ever done. The gardens are appreciated, and their educating, civilising influence already plain, and spreading in ways too varied and complex for consideration here.

From the standpoint of the historic survey, note further how the recent admirable extension of allotment cultivation just outside the town limits throws light upon the origin of the spacious gardens of the old-world friars upon our mediæval town-maps; and these, not only in Edinburgh, but in Oxford, in Florence, and other old cities. Hence—the speculation is at least harmless—might not this similarly useful and re-educational type of cultivation again lead us towards some other new and unexpected development of town-growth, in its way also beautiful, as did that of old? May it not have some latent part in that next evolution of our city for the better, which is the happier side of that judgment-day which our historic and sociological survey shows is always going on? May it not even again be said by the Ideal of Progress—“Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto Me”?

Leave now our small gardens in progress. Leave undescribed also our little beginnings of Garden Villages in Edinburgh, though the oldest in Scotland and among the earliest in Britain. For a higher outlook and a larger future, let us return to the ancient heart and focus of our city, the ridge of old Edinburgh. Notice again in this connection the survey by our foremost Edinburgh antiquary and civic artist, Mr. Bruce Home, showing every historic building still surviving: yet let us frankly recognise that interesting though these old buildings may be, their survival must essentially depend upon such possibilities of utilisation as they can show.

Such for instance is the work of the Town and Gown Association, a scheme also extended to Chelsea, which has succeeded in re-erecting Crosby Hall.

Here, then, we have a new principle and method of town-planning—and, indeed, of city design. It is the combination, in each city, of its antiquarian piety, and its conservative artistic purpose, with architectural ability and business management: this towards a twofold purpose—on one side that of collegiate efficiency; on the other, that of civic betterment.

Here is, in fact, the gradual working-out of a scheme of collegiate development, especially adapted to our larger University cities, and not, as too much in older types, independently of the existing city, and by mere destruction and replacement of its buildings. On the contrary, it seeks, on grounds alike economical and social, to conserve and incorporate existing buildings. Hence our large perspective of the upper third of the ridge of old Edinburgh now becomes intelligible as a definite and gradually unifying scheme: not simply for the cleansing and conservation of the historic remnants of old Edinburgh, but for the development of this into a collegiate street and city comparable in its way with the magnificent High Street of Oxford and its noble surroundings. Not, of course, comparable in the same forms of collegiate splendour; but none the less in the definite and practical way, of



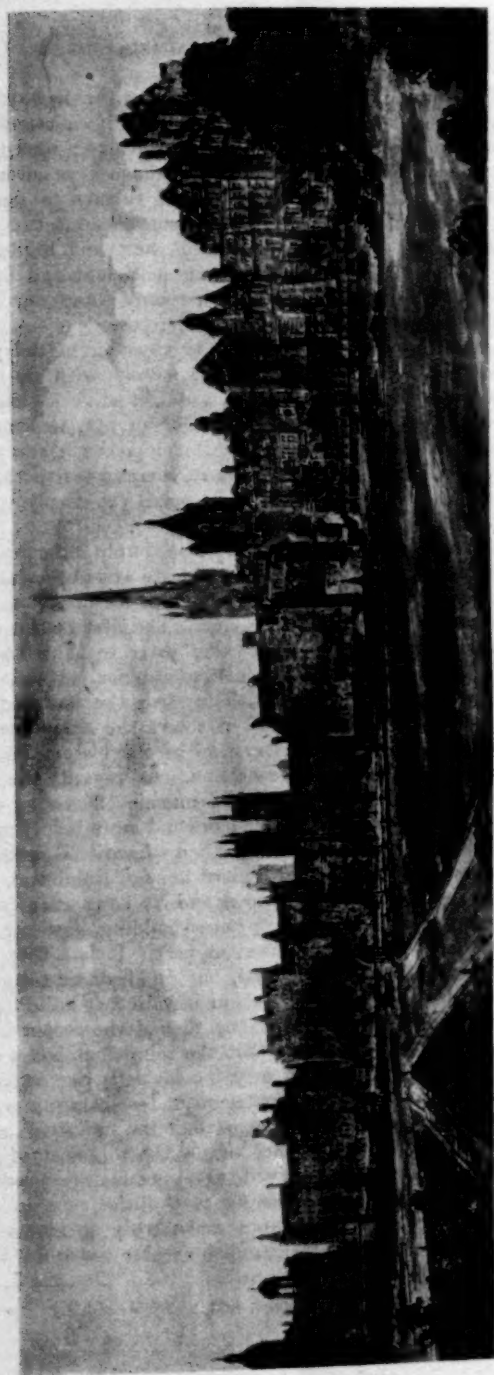


FIG. 2.—Perspective (by G. S. Aitken) of "Old Town," from Bank westwards, showing University Hall Improvement Scheme (in progress since 1887).

ultimate student numbers, and in excellent and, in their way, not less educative conditions. Historic houses have thus been renewed; old courts cleansed, repaired; and modestly rebeautified; and City and University, too long dissociated, begin to find themselves entering into renewing contacts, in which that tradition of culture in democracy, which is the peculiar heritage and glory of Scottish education, may be not only maintained, but developed towards new and higher issues. Thus, then, the long discord of antiquarian sentiment and utilitarian realism is beginning to find a renewed harmony; and our studious Survey is rising once more towards practical purpose.

At the outset we noted the fear that surveys might delay action. But has it not been shown in practice how survey, with its interpretation, illuminates the path for action, and this alike as regards its dangerous and its hopeful possibilities? Our survey, in short, leads towards a corresponding "Report on City Development": and this is in preparation, and on lines not less, but more, comprehensive than those of "City Development"<sup>1</sup> with regard to the small yet deeply significant City of Dunfermline.

Here, however, it is sufficient to give some simple indication of the method and spirit of a possible Report—reports arise necessarily from such Survey. First, as regards the method; this we briefly express by our juxtaposition of two plans of the city. The first is the ordinary Directory map of the city, tinted here and there to show how it has grown upon its physical contour and geographical situation. The second is a rough experimental sketch towards the bettered city of the opening generation. For the past it shows the acceptance of the natural environment with the conservation of the historic heritage—the best work of each and every generation. As regards the present, we seek at once social betterment and economic efficiency; while as regards the opening future, we venture more and more boldly upon that social and cultural evolution, at once civic and educational, which surely expresses the best tradition and the highest hope of Edinburgh Old and New. This needed Report on Edinburgh and its Town Planning, then, is no mere matter of street-making, or house-building, however respectably improved upon conditions present or past. It is a City Design; and this not only of material process, but of idealistic progress, for except the Ideal plan the city, they labour in vain that build it.

We are encouraged by many signs (*e.g.* that of the recent Report of the Merchant Company) to believe that the municipal policy and the civic statesmanship of Edinburgh may increasingly rise beyond such present promise as is that of concealment under tramway wires and adornment by their poles; and even beyond its suburban industrial development. For Edinburgh is not simply the foremost of Scottish University cities: to any one who will survey its historic productivity, and can discern its present and opening possibilities, it is no less than one of the realisable foremost, since most truly metropolitan and encyclopædic, universities of the English-speaking world; and with

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh, 1904.

but few superiors, and yet fewer rivals, upon the Continent itself. Again, while the current Housing and Garden City movement is rightly based on the revival of the old and peaceful beauty of the English village, the needed larger movement of City Development can be inspired and headed by no better city than Edinburgh. For such rare heritage—of beauty, of intellectual and practical endeavour, and of moral and spiritual intensity—however temporarily forgotten or depressed—cannot but again be renewed and combined into creative activity, and these of world-wide influence and example.

Hence, as our survey begins with the Castle upon the Rock, so it ends appropriately with these castles in the air. Let our successors materialise them in their turn.

Civic Survey thus ranges through wide limits: from direct and ruthless realism on the one hand, to civic idealism on the other. For there is no real incompatibility between the power of seeing the thing as it is—the Town as Place, as Work, as Folk—and the power of seeing things as they may be—the City of Etho-Polity, Culture and Art. Our city surveys, in fact, descend throughout their veritable inferno, yet ascend towards corresponding circles of higher life. What are these circles of ascent or of decline? The needful stereoscopic device of thought—the analyses of a strangely mingled and ever-changing ebb and flow, the rise and fall of historic and individual evolution.

As final expressions, then, of our survey and of its practical purpose, our illustrations of it in the Cities Exhibition end with two symbols: First, the model of the City Cross, as summing up the vicissitudes of old Edinburgh for centuries past, built in mediæval times, transformed at the Reformation, demolished in the utilitarian period, partly re-erected—thanks to Sir Walter Scott—in the romantic age, and finally re-erected and restored to civic uses. Hence this Cross is peculiarly fitting as a symbol not only of Citizenship, but of Civic Revivance; and as complementing that Relief Model of Edinburgh, with which we start as conditioning the material origins of the town, by a corresponding expression of the deeper and inner evolution of the city. The many-sided activities of a great city, spiritual and social, educational and hygienic, architectural and industrial—or most simply ideal and material—all these may be fitly symbolised upon the many sides of this characteristic building as aspects of a real unity; and this unity again, by the shaft of the Cross, as an ascent of life towards fitting expression—pointedly individual because also civic and national. Yet as each phase of development of our survey has come and gone, so in turn may this presentment of it. All surveys need perpetual renewal; and our final exhibit is thus a plain office-model of the Outlook Tower—reduced to its simplest expression—that in which it may be adapted by any one to the problems and the tasks presented by his own immediate environment, his own region and neighbourhood, quarter and city. Hence, beside this, in the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition we lay our indications and beginnings of other surveys of cities, *e.g.* of Dunfermline and Aberdeen, of Oxford and Chelsea, of Paris and Ghent, of Benares and Jerusalem. These serve

as further evidence of the practicability of city surveys; and of these, not only as the essential local public Inquiry needed before town-planning and city-improvement schemes can be safely or sufficiently undertaken, but as helpful to municipal work of all kinds, and to civic betterment in its endless details. In conclusion, then, here is our thesis and challenge: City Surveys are urgent, practicable, and useful; so useful that they must before long become for civic statesmanship and local administration what charts now are to Admiralty and to pilot.<sup>1</sup>

### PRIMITIVE EDINBURGH.

By F. C. MEARS, Captain R.A.F., Architect.

*(With Illustrations by the Author.)*

THE following sketch of the early state of Edinburgh is necessarily based more on study of the site than on historic documents.

It is difficult at first, when one is walking the streets of a crowded city, to visualise the ancient open site on which it is built, but continued observation, coupled with study of models and maps, has resulted in the conclusions set forth below.

The earliest inhabitants were free to take their pathways by the best routes over the open moors, untrammelled by boundaries or vested interests, and in the main these early tracks, consecrated by centuries of use, form the framework on which the modern city has grown.

The burgh of Edinburgh only became capital of Scotland in the fifteenth century. From that time till the middle of the eighteenth century its boundaries remained practically unaltered, and the houses of the increased population, as well as national and civic institutions, were all provided for by the overbuilding of its very large area of open spaces. The greater city of to-day has grown over and around the old centre, and in all its developments has been profoundly affected by ancient and sometimes prehistoric road lines and boundaries.

Next to the larger physical features of the site, these are amongst the most enduring elements in any old town, and if studied carefully give us very accurate information as to past conditions. Conversely, it is not without interest to consider how our coming expansion and improvement schemes are necessarily affected by, and indeed rise out of, the pattern of the ancient shell in which our community lives to-day.

Just as the pattern of the coming Greater Edinburgh will be largely determined by its past, so the position and plan of the new burgh of the twelfth century were influenced by the already existing Hill Fort,

<sup>1</sup> Further particulars of the methods of City Survey may be obtained from the Outlook Tower, or from the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition; or (at present most conveniently) from the Secretary, Regional Association, 11 Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 2.

its suburb, and approach roads. Yet, again, the character of this fort, and the cause of its later importance, can only be understood by con-

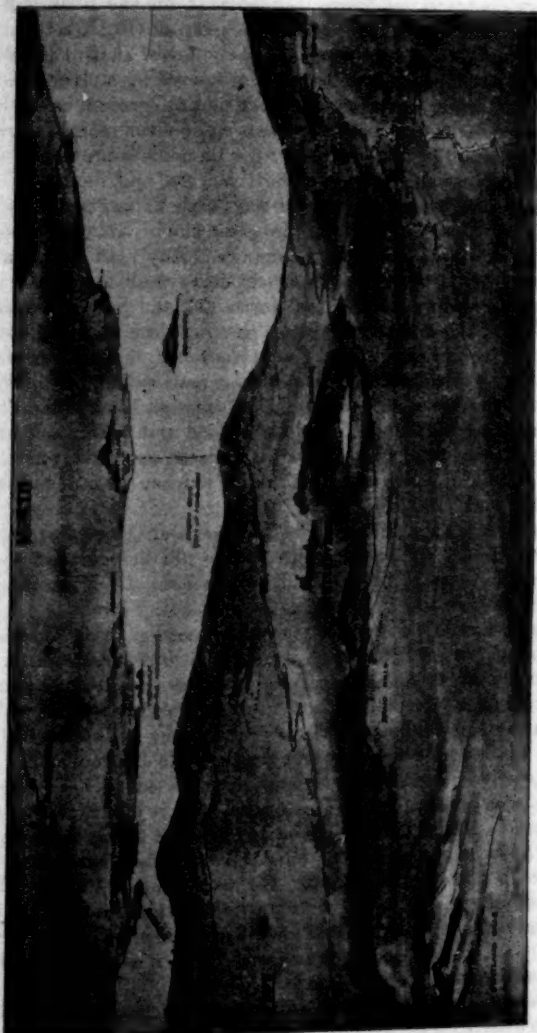


FIG. 3.—Diagram showing relations of—1. Inveresk-Fisher Row, 2. Dunaspe-Duddington-Fisher Row, 3. Edinburgh-Leith. 4. Dunfermline-Inverkeithing.

sideration of the occupation of the district by the Romans, and by comparison with similar places of refuge which were products of the unsettled times following their retreat.



## THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

The Romans appear to have had no station of importance at Edinburgh. They doubtless maintained an outpost on the Rock, but their principal settlement in the district was at Inveresk (Fig. 3). This site had many advantages for continuous occupation over that of Edinburgh. There is a low but defensible hill partly protected by a river bend, and with an assured water supply. The surrounding ground is sheltered, and the alluvial soil good for cultivation. The river mouth is reasonably sheltered from the east, was under the immediate protection of the camp, and there were ample resources of river, sea, and shell-fish.

No other site on the south side<sup>1</sup> of the Forth Estuary gave so many advantages, and it had in addition the great one of an open approach from the pass at Soutra on the Lammermuirs. Any road taking a more westerly line from Soutra towards Queensferry and the Wall, would have to cross the deep valleys of the North Esk and South Esk as well as many of their tributaries, and, after passing close to the Pentlands and over the very irregular site of the present city, it would meet with the obstacle of Corstorphine Hill. Such a road would be difficult to patrol, and inconvenient for convoys. The exposed Rock of Edinburgh, inconvenient of access, without resources of food and water, and with its river mouth too far away and exposed to the east, can have offered few attractions to the Romans after their long journey by sea or over the Border hills.

The Roman road from Inveresk to Cramond and Queensferry appears to have crossed the Esk on the line of the old bridge, and to have passed thence through Fisherrow to Magdalen Bridge. From Magdalen Bridge there are two roads of early date, one leading direct to Duddingston, where it formerly stopped; the other passing along the coast to the west end of Portobello, where its present abrupt turn towards Edinburgh is clearly not the old line. Possibly the original course from this point was along the crest of the fifty-foot raised beach—which is directly on the line of the High Street—across the hollow by Fillyside, and thence again on the fifty-foot beach past Leith Poorhouse.

The Fishwives Causeway, which is often stated to have a Roman origin, has been almost entirely obliterated, and it is difficult to define its exact course. The lane which bears the name to-day is shown on a plan of 1783 as a probable deviation. (Baird's *Duddingston and Portobello*, map on p. 294.) After leaving the main road at Figgate Burn, it passed westwards on the south of the main railway line until it joined the next mentioned road near Piershill. Fishwives Causeway was undoubtedly an early road, since it formed the northern boundary of Duddingston Parish.

There are distinct indications of an early road branching to the left of the southern Roman road to Inveresk near Pathhead, and leading

<sup>1</sup> Inverkeithing, on the north side of the ferry, offers many similar advantages, and one would expect to find traces of a late Roman settlement near the harbour. There are cultivation terraces close to the railway which might repay exploration.

straight to Leith *via* Chesterhill, east of Dalkeith, Cauldcote, Niddrie, east side of Duddingston Park and Willowbrae Road. At Piershill the road appears to have taken a straight course on the east side of Piershill Barracks to Restalrig, joining up with Fishwives Causeway on the way. It is quite clear from the surviving portions that it did not lead to Edinburgh. It has all the appearance of being an engineered road and not a track, and numerous indications point to its early date.

This suggests that the Romans, after they had strengthened their grip on the country, gave up Inveresk as an important military station and harbour in favour of one nearer the end of the Wall.

After leaving the hills below Soutra, they made a new and better road straight from Pathhead to Inverleith, so as to avoid the exposed length of coast road between Inveresk and Leith.

Fishwives Causeway may have been a short connecting branch from the coast road, made with the object of cutting out the worst part for Inveresk traffic.

Charters, quoted by Mr. Curle in his book on "Newstead" (pp. 13-14), support this theory in proving that "Dere Street" passed from Soutra to Dalkeith. A road taking this line is leaving Inveresk three miles on the right, and cannot have been leading there unless it suddenly took a right angle bend.

In summary, it seems clear that the Romans, aiming, *via* the eastern road, for the crossing at Queensferry and the end of their Wall, steered clear of the barriers of the Pentland Hills and Eak Valleys, and first directed their road on Inveresk, whence it passed along the raised beaches to Cramond and westwards, avoiding the present site of Edinburgh.

Later on they made the Pathhead-Leith road and the Fishwives Causeway. This would account for the irregular arrangement of the eastern approaches to Edinburgh to-day, since the early tracks from the fort would join up with the older roads instead of leading across the country in a normal way from the beginning, as happens on the other side of the city.

#### THE NORTHMEN.

We have now to consider the troubled period between the time of departure of the Roman frontier forces and the rise of kingly power in Scotland.

This period is characterised by continuous attack and infiltration from the north-east of Europe. Instead of the Forth-Clyde valleys forming a frontier against the north, the whole coasts of Scotland became the debatable ground, and for long after the departure of the old central organising power there was cast on each unit of population the task of independent self-defence.

Edinburgh is a type of fortress first occupied through necessity, and not through choice. True, the Rock, when crowned by an adequate fortress, was well-nigh impregnable, but the first construction must have been called for by a great need, and its maintenance must have demanded high powers of organisation on the part of its early holders.

Such a site could not become of more than local importance until there arose a central power strong enough to garrison it, and hold it secure against all comers. Edinburgh only became the capital of Scotland because of the great strength of the castle, and not on economic or ordinary political grounds.

Had Scottish history followed a more peaceful course, the central town of this region would have grown up round Inveresk, burgh and port in one; the capital of Scotland would have been elsewhere, and the present difficult situation in regard to the annexation of Leith by Edinburgh would never have arisen.

Musselburgh's local rhyme—

"Musselburgh was a Burgh when Edinburgh was nane,  
And Musselburgh 'll be a Burgh when Edinburgh's gane,"

was founded on a very lively sense of this basic economic fact, and the cleaner industries of a new age may well settle with their garden villages around this unspoiled centre as foreshadowed by Professor Geddes on pages 290 and 291.

In the Forth Estuary this stage of localised defence is marked by a new type of settlement, in which a place of refuge is constructed several miles in rear of a river mouth. We find the requirement of easily won food supply coupled with that of a fort just far enough from the sea to make attack impossible, unless the invaders came in sufficient force to leave an adequate guard for their ships.

Dunfermline-Inverkeithing, the Binn and Burntisland, Maiden Castle, Kennoway-Innerleven, on the north; and Craigton-Abercorn, Edinburgh-Leith, Dunsapie-Fisherrow, Traprain-Tynninghame, on the south, are well-marked examples of this combination. To this period must be assigned the first serious occupation on the Rock of Edinburgh.

There is no evidence on the site of any large peaceful settlement close to the fort before the twelfth century. Had there been a town of any size on or adjoining the ridge, the plan of the "Royal Burgh" would give evidence of it. This plan is very regular, and must, in the main, have been set out on a practically clear site. Leith, too, solitary amid its sand dunes, can hardly have competed with Fisherrow in very early times. The people grouped around Inveresk, Fisherrow, and east of Arthur's Seat must have for long remained the principal social unit in the district.

The south-eastern slopes of Arthur's Seat bear evidence, in the elaborate ancient earth works which cover them, of a large and industrious settlement of long standing. Visible remains are seen in a fort on Dunsapie Hill, and especially in the imposing system of cultivation terraces which cover all the suitable slopes. There is also evidence of lake dwellings, and numerous relics of all kinds have been dug up in the neighbourhood. The site has great advantages for a primitive society over that of Edinburgh. It was probably occupied before Roman times, and its Norman church shows that it was important in the twelfth century.

Dunsapie Fort fulfils the conditions of its time in its nearness to

the sheltered river mouth with its Roman harbour works and, in addition, it has its village site on the knoll below, beside the loch of Duddingston, then much larger than it is to-day. Thus the settlement, based on its elaborate system of cultivation and on its fisheries, and well defended by its fort, must have been the largest in its region, only to be replaced by Edinburgh when conditions had changed, and the Rock, properly fortified, became of more than local importance. As seen from the south the hill-side city must, in its days of prosperity, have been one of the most picturesque in Britain, surpassing even mediæval Edinburgh in its dramatic contrasts.

The site of Dunsapie-Duddingston must be as worthy of systematic excavation as any in Scotland if, as seems certain, it directly links Roman with Scottish history.

There are indications of similar cultivation terraces on the Old Town ridge between Castle Wynd and the West Bow. Old boundary lines here run east and west along the slope, which is stepped in terraces. These have been modified in later times, and one below Johnston Terrace is defined by the only stretch of the "King's Wall" now to be seen above ground. These terraces show that Edinburgh was occupied at an early date, but they are few in number, and do not point to a settled community here on anything approaching the scale of that of Duddingston.

Before going on to details of the early fort and its approaches, it is necessary to understand clearly the main physical features of the Castle Rock and its surroundings. The hills and hollows on which Edinburgh is founded owe their main outlines to the action of a great glacier moving from west to east. The hard volcanic rocks of the district resisted erosion, and remain as prominent hills, which are precipitous towards the west. On their eastern side the softer strata, which were protected by the hard rock in front, rise in ridges which lie parallel to each other. This "crag and tail" formation is emphasised by the sharply defined horseshoe-shaped valley which lies below each crag to the west. This formation may be easily seen on a small scale in sandy streams where the sand is scooped out in front of an obstacle, and lies in a ridge behind it. It is also well shown on the large model of the site of Edinburgh in the Outlook Tower.

The Castle Rock, rising to 440 feet above sea-level, is precipitous on all sides. On the north, west, and south it gains height on account of the encircling valley (260 feet from valley to summit). (See Figs. 4 and 5.) To the east the sedimentary rocks of the ridge are at their highest point within 80 feet of the summit. Thus the easy approach is on the east, and all early tracks were focussed on that side.

The highest point of the encircling valleys is not, as might be expected, below the Castle Rock, but is at the east end of the Grassmarket (234 feet above sea-level). From this point the Cowgate valley drains eastward to Holyrood (119 feet). The other valley runs westward by King's Stables Road for a third of a mile, and then turns north round the Castle Rock, and then eastward till it unites with the Cowgate valley at Holyrood. The average slope of the Cowgate is thus

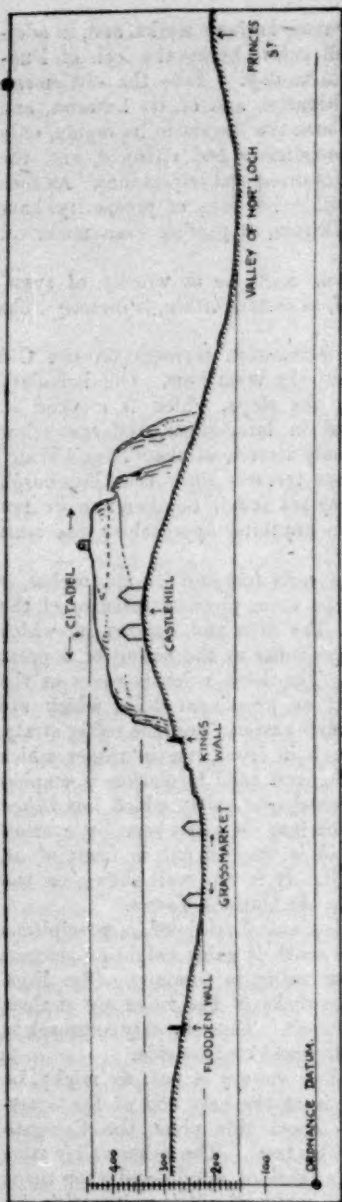


FIG. 4.—Cross section through Grassmarket and Castlehill looking west. The "King's Wall" represents a shrinkage of the town for military reasons. Had this wall followed the original burgh boundary it would have been overlooked from the high ground to the south. Even the Flodden Wall of later times suffered in part from this disadvantage.

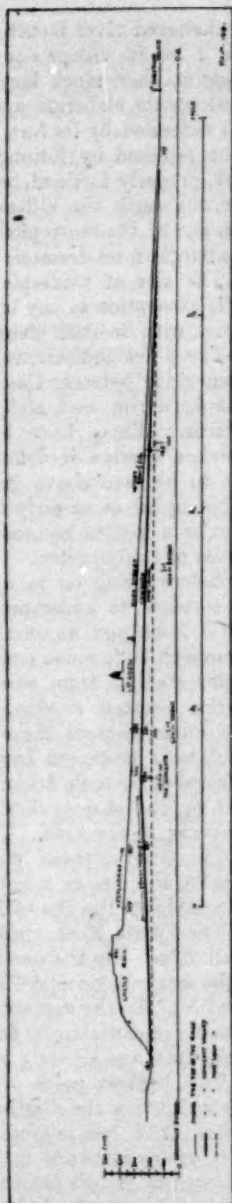


FIG. 5.—Diagram showing relative levels of the Old Town ridge, the Cowgate valley, and the valley of the "Nor' Loch."



about twice as rapid as that of the northern valley. The rise from the head of the Grassmarket to the Lawnmarket is 68 feet, and from the valley of Princes Street Gardens to the Lawnmarket 140 feet.

All tracks, except those from Leith and the East Coast, are therefore brought round to the south side of the ridge, and unite to approach the fort by the line of the ancient West Bow. The normal radiation of the roads was further affected by the strongly marked obstacles of Calton Hill, Arthur's Seat, the Burgh Loch (now the Meadows), and the valley of the Water of Leith; all of which are within a mile of the Castle. Of these, the most important was the Burgh Loch, which lay very close to the fort. Its drainage flowed westwards *via* Toll Cross into the Water of Leith at Roseburn, and it was separated from the hollow in front of St. Leonard's Crag by a low ridge, now crowned by Clerk Street.

In studying the origin of a town two factors must be borne in mind:—

1. Increase of population may be accompanied by gradual expansion and encroachment, each largely determined by natural features, older roadways, and property boundaries. Under these conditions growth will be irregular, and old boundaries will become the most permanent features in the pattern of the town, outlasting many destructions and rebuildings.

2. A definite plan may be adopted to cover a reasonably clear site. In this case a system of new roads and regular plots is laid out, and minor features and old boundaries within the area are obliterated or squared up. In Edinburgh large examples of this latter process may be found in the main High Street area of the Old Town, and in the still larger eighteenth century New Town. Both of these schemes were, however, limited by the natural features of their sites, and by the need of junction with existing highways, and in some degree by pre-existing vested interests.

The original fort of Edinburgh Rock occupied only the eastern part of the summit, which indeed always formed the Citadel (Fig. 4). This part rises 80 feet above the Esplanade level, and is about 30 feet above the area to the west, from which it is cut off by a cliff. Its area was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres, out of a total of 9 acres enclosed by the outer wall of the Castle to-day. It must be remembered that the early Citadel was smaller by the extent of the Half-Moon Battery and part of Palace Square, which are artificial platforms resting on vaulting. The present approach road circling below the upper fortifications to Foogo's Gate appears to follow the old line. The summit to the west, lightly fenced, would serve as a place of refuge for cattle in time of danger, and later would become the site of the first town below the fort gate. Survivals of this stage are found in the Records, where it is shown that monastic settlements were provided for on the Rock, and later that certain citizens were allowed to erect dwellings there.

With the organisation of the whole summit as a castle proper, a small civilian suburb grew up, a bow-shot from the gate. This extended down the narrow street now called Castle Hill, and then expanded

trumpet-wise at the head of the West Bow (see Edgar's Plan). Below, on the south, were the terraces to which reference has been made. The zigzag line of the West Bow, which made it one of the most picturesque of hill-side streets, was a twelfth century development. Earlier, the principal track went straight down the slope on the line of Anderson's Close to the head of the Cowgate and Candlemaker Row.

#### THE RADIATION OF THE EARLY ROADS.

The narrow space between St. Leonard's Crag and the Burgh Loch caused the roads from the south-east to be pushed close together at some distance from the Rock, while the roads from south and south-west were deflected westward by the Burgh Loch, and united with those from the west at Main Point, near the West Port. All roads of this early time are to be thought of rather as moorland tracks, and the irregular bends of the older streets of to-day are due to small hillocks and hollows long since smoothed away or built over.

The principal early roads which approached the fort appear to be the following:—

1. The roads from Peebles, etc., unite south of the Pentland Hills, pass to west of the Braid Hills, and follow the line of Morninggide Road to Toll Cross and Main Point.

2. The Lanark Road followed the northern slopes of the Pentland Hills, thence apparently came past Merchiston Castle and Burghmuirhead to Main Point.

3. The Glasgow and Stirling Roads skirted the large loch which lay south of Corstorphine Hill, and crossed the Water of Leith at Coltbridge, and then took the existing line past Haymarket to Morrison Street, Broad Street, and Main Point.

4. The Ferry Road came north of Corstorphine Hill, past Dean Village, where there is doubt as to its exact line, and then by Queensferry Street and King's Stables Road to the Grassmarket.

5. The Sea Road to Leith followed the line of Leith Walk to the narrow valley west of Calton, and then probably ran diagonally up the north side of the ridge to the Fort Gate.

6. The East Coast Road apparently left the Fishwives Causeway near Piershill, passed near Restalrig, and thence came in a straight line across the site of future Holyrood, and up the crest of the ridge direct to the Fort Gate.

7. The Roxburgh Road left "Dere Street," at Dalkeith, and came west of Craigmillar Rock, and close to St. Leonard's Crag, where it divided, one branch leading on directly to the fort, the other crossing the Old Town ridge a little east of the present Bridges, and joining the Sea Road at Calton Hollow.

8. The Selkirk Road passed close to the east end of the Burgh Loch, and united with the Roxburgh Road at Bristo Street.

Fig. 6 shows in detail, and in relation to contours, the early alignment of these two roads (marked A and B), along with the later branches of Potter Row and Pleasance, the latter being clearly an

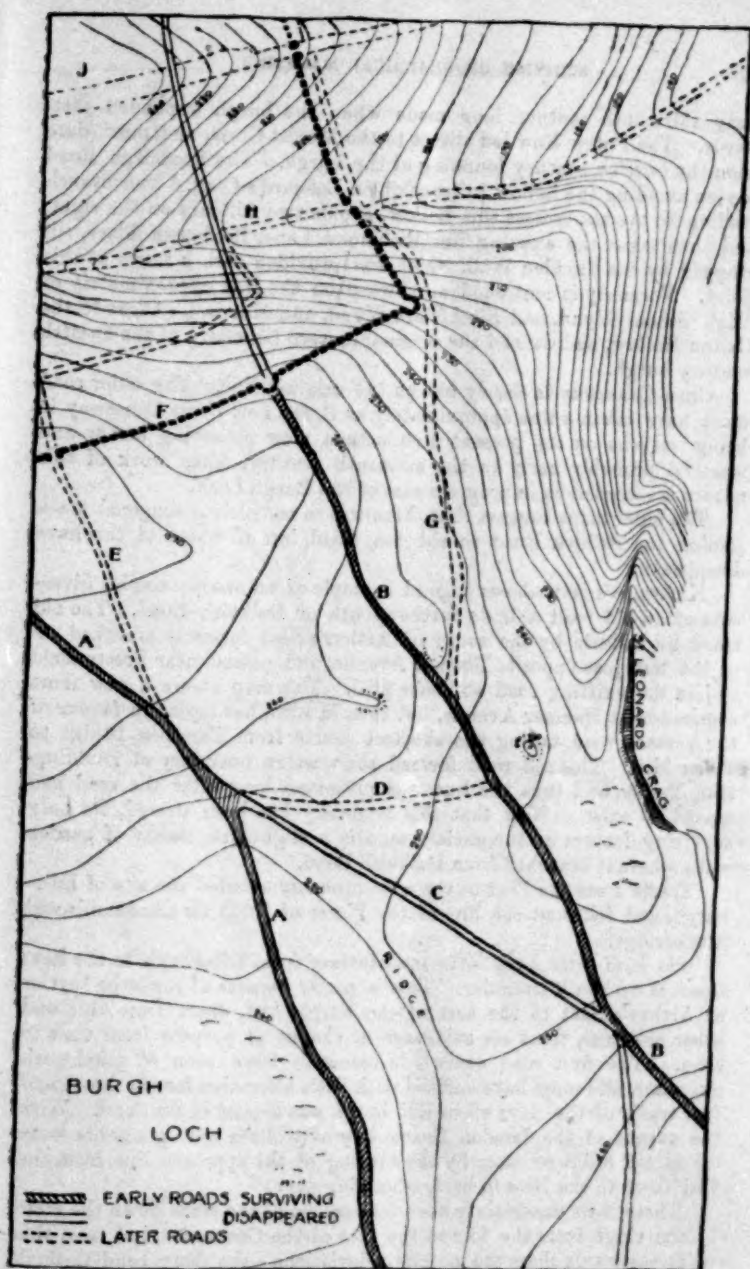


FIG. 6.—Diagram showing south-eastern approaches in relation to contours.

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| A Causewayside and Bristo Street leading to Candlemaker Row.  | D Later line of Crosscauseway. |
| B St. Leonard's Street and road to Leith, now Roxburgh Place. | F Line of Flodden Wall.        |
| C Probable original direct track to the Fort.                 | J High Street.                 |
| E Potter Row leading to Mercat Cross.                         |                                |
| G Pleasance.  | H Cowgate.                     |

early thirteenth century loop made when the burgh expanded eastwards. The Potter Row led direct to the Mercat Cross, and must date from the twelfth century founding of the burgh. The Roxburgh Road is seen avoiding the hollow in front of St. Leonard's Crag. The branch leading to the sea crosses this hollow, avoids two hillocks on the right, and then takes the existing line Richmond Lane, Roxburgh Place, till stopped by the Flodden Wall, which was provided with a tower at this point. Formerly it continued northward on the line approximately of High School Wynd, and Blackfriars Wynd, and Morrison's Close to the Calton Hollow, and defined the original eastern boundary of the twelfth century burgh.

Cross Causeway is clearly not on the original line. The older road must have taken a line approximately as C, the new Cross Causeway D being set out on its present line with a view to saving labour and material, probably early in the sixteenth century, when work of this nature is recorded as in progress east of the Burgh Loch.

The older maps suggest that there was in addition a diagonal track joining the Selkirk Road to the Sea Road, but all traces of this have disappeared.

Kirkwood's map shows a good example of an exactly similar diversion of an old road a little farther south on Dalkeith Road. The old track to Niddrie by the south of Arthur's Seat formerly branched off to the left just opposite Blacket Avenue, and passed near Prestonfield to join the existing road at Peffer Mill. The map shows a new short connection at Hanmer Avenue, but this, in turn, has lapsed in favour of the present road, taking the shortest course from Cameron Bridge to Peffer Mill. This old road formed the western boundary of Duddingston Parish, and thus the line was preserved long after the road had ceased to exist. Now that this boundary has been altered, its only surviving feature on the modern map is a slight irregularity of garden walls where it branched from Dalkeith Road.

Traffic from the Port to the west probably avoided the site of Edinburgh, and followed the line of the Water of Leith *via* Canonmills and Stockbridge.

*The Road to the East.*—The road system from Edinburgh to the East Coast is curiously irregular. This is partly because of the large barrier of Arthur's Seat to the east of the burgh, but, apart from this and other obstacles, there are evidences of change of purpose from time to time. The first road eastwards seems to have been of patchwork character, and must have sufficed with little alteration for the horse and foot traffic of the days when Edinburgh was capital of Scotland. With the advent of the London Coach improved lines and gradients were called for, followed later by the turning of the approach line from the Old Town to the New in bridge-building days.

There is no uncertainty about the course of the track down the crest of the ridge from the fort to the foot of the Canongate, but from this point eastwards there are puzzling deviations—the sharp bend through the Water Gate and round by Abbey Hill and Spring Gardens is clearly a loop like that of the Pleasance.

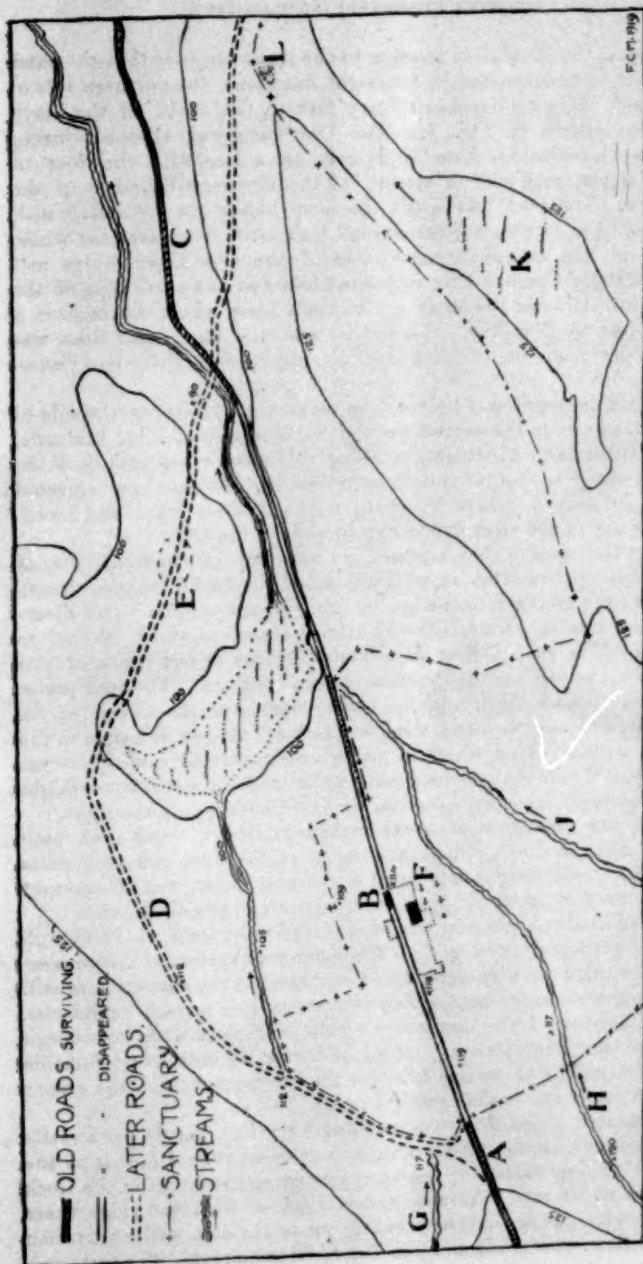


FIG. 7.—Diagram showing eastern approach to Edinburgh and site of Holyrood in relation to contours.

- A Canongate.
- B Early road exposed by excavation.
- C Cloakmill Lane.
- D Abbeyhill.
- E St. Ann's Brae.
- F Early church. The later building is shown by dotted line.
- G Stream from "Nor' Loch" valley.
- H Stream from Cowgate valley.
- J Stream from valley below Salisbury Crags.
- K Hollow near St. Margaret's Loch.
- L Munclae's Cairn.



Study of the ground in relation to the maps suggests that the older track must have continued in a straight line along the northern side of the present Abbey Church, or forty feet to the north of the early church, as shown in Fig. 7. The Old Causeway exposed during the recent excavations here is directly on a line with the foot of the Canongate, and with a stretch of the northern boundary of the Sanctuary. This line just clears the deep hollow on the left, which must have been a swamp, if not a small loch, since it received the whole drainage of the valleys on each side of the Old Town Ridge and below Salisbury Crags. The track then followed the south side of the stream until it joined the existing Clockmill Lane, which continues in a straight line to Restalrig. Connection with the East Coast Road was probably first made by a branch track joining up with Fishwives Causeway.

In early days this east approach to Edinburgh, following the side of the burn, and with the sacred wells of St. Margaret and St. Triduana, and the little early abbey spaced along its course, must have had the character of a *Via Sacra* of considerable beauty. To-day, as a neglected footpath in an arid desert of railway works, rubbish heaps, and hoardings, it is one of the most depressing byways in the city.

When Holyrood Abbey assumed its new and enlarged character in the twelfth century, this early track would be found to pass inconveniently near to the foundations of the Norman church. The diversion to the line of Abbey Hill—St. Anne's Brae—must be referred to this date. The deep hollow at Comely Gardens is the cause of this wide detour, as can readily be seen in the Diagram. The road passes along below Calton Hill, and then turns east over the hillock at St. Anne's Brae, crosses the early track at Clockmill Bridge, and rises to the 100-foot terrace, along which it passed eastwards to join Fishwives Causeway. When the post road came to be made, it was taken straight through towards Portobello, leaving the Old Causeway on the right.

With the exception of the Queensferry Road, which has been deflected beyond Dean Village, and again at the west end of Princes Street, the other main roads from north-west, west, and south-west appear to preserve their old lines with only minor modifications.

We are now in a position to sum up briefly the state of Edinburgh in the eleventh century (Fig. 8). The main road system of the present city had by this time been determined, and most of the ancient lines still survive, either in the streets or as administrative or private boundaries. In the discovery of the deviations which took place when the burgh largely replaced the Castle as a focus of traffic, we have found valuable clues which will be of service later for the determination of the extent and character of the twelfth century burgh.

The summit of the Rock was crowned by a fort, hardly yet a castle in the mediæval sense, with an outer settlement close below it on the west, and all approached by the narrow winding track cut in the Rock round the north side. At a bow-shot distance from the ridge there was a little straggling suburb spreading out to the east, with cultivation terraces below, between it and the future Grassmarket. The surround-



FIG. 8.—Edinburgh in the eleventh century. Bird's-eye view looking N.W. from Arthur's Seat. The view shows the Fortress, and its gairrb on the ridge ; also the early roads and beginnings of Holyrood and Leith.

ing country was a fantastic place of moor, forest, loch, and swamp, with craggy hills rising like islands to the east and south. The beginnings of Dean Village with its mill, of Leith, and of Restalrig can be referred to this period, as also the older Abbey of Holyrood, and the early church settlements on the Forth islands.

At this time most of the refuge forts were being deserted for more hospitable sites, but the Port Castles of Edinburgh—Leith guarding one side of the Ferry, and Dunfermline-Inverkeithing the other, along with the Bridge Castle of Stirling—continued to gain importance as forming a triangle of strength for the control of the Forth Valley, and one or another became temporary capital of the region or of Scotland with the varying calls of war or peace. It was only when the ancient danger of the Northmen was finally overcome, and a new and greater menace threatened from the south, that Edinburgh became the frontier capital of a united Scotland. Her importance in this respect was increased by the open door of the Forth leading direct to the Continent.

The Scottish people were in close touch from early times with their neighbours across the sea, as Wallace's remarkable letter, written from Haddington to the Citizens of Hamburg and Lübeck, bears witness. But it may be said that the final choice of Edinburgh as capital was as much due to the French Alliance as to the strength of her Castle.

#### THE ROYAL BURGH.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries may be regarded as the happiest ages in early Scottish history. The documentary evidence for this time has been almost entirely destroyed, but in the lay-out and laws of the burghs, and the remains of the cathedrals and monasteries, we find proof of a period of great prosperity and cultural endeavour. Historians who base their descriptions of Scottish life in this time on Froissart's and other writers' contemptuous accounts, have failed to realise how quickly the land, united and blossoming in the light of a new inspiration of civic life, was ruined by the shocks of successive invasions and wastings.

Those of us who have seen, far behind the line in France, the orchard villages completely destroyed by the retiring Germans, can realise a little what happened time after time in Scotland, for in France the people were at least spared from wholesale massacre. Little wonder that the Scots with tragic pride adopted later the thistle as their emblem: "Nemo me impune lacessit."

The history of twelfth and thirteenth century Scotland remains yet to be written, and here she was happier than England, for the Norman invasion of Scotland was religious and cultural from the beginning, and their system was modified to suit Scottish custom, and followed a milder course throughout.

For a general idea of the policy in trade which led to the founding of the burghs from the twelfth century onwards, the reader must be referred to the *Scottish Historical Review*, October 1915 and January 1916.

The founding of such new towns was one of the most characteristic

features of the time, but they must not be considered alone. The burghs represent only one unit of a threefold one of castle, burgh, and



FIG. 9.—Edinburgh, *cir.* 1460. Bird's-eye view looking west from a point above St. Margaret's Loch. Note the "King's Wall" half way up the southern slope leaving the Cowgate, the enclosures of the Friars, and Kirk-o'-Field undefended.

abbey, and this trinity will be found, no doubt with its parts in varying relative scale, to have been adopted in probably every case (Fig. 9).



The burghs were set out very regularly on new sites around a large central space, which sometimes, as in Edinburgh or Elgin, took rather the form of a wide street. In other cases, such as Haddington or St. Andrews, the space enclosed was triangular or square. When tracing the original spacious lay-out of a burgh, it is necessary to make allowance for the large amount of encroachment which began seriously in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and has continued ever since. Wood's series of plans of one hundred years ago are of great value in this connection, as showing the large amount of public space which has been lost even in that comparatively short time. Encroachments may be recognised by the irregular shape and size of the plots. They are frequently a standardisation of the irregular lines of market booths, whose owners had by some means acquired a right to the piece of ground.

The burghs were in early days as much based on agriculture as on trade and crafts, as is shown, apart from the evidence of their plans, by the large proportion of references to agriculture in the *Laws of the Four Burghs*. This is one of the earliest civic codes in existence, and fortunately has escaped the general destruction of the early Scottish Records. There are many regularly planned villages on the Borders and in the North of England, which have preserved their plan as well as their connection with the land to this day. By comparison with these we can determine very closely the appearance of the burghs, which indeed were originally little larger than many of these villages.

The original plots were long and narrow, at right angles to the central space, and generally opened at the other end on a narrow lane. In very few burghs is there evidence of any system of streets—St. Andrews and Perth, however, are laid out in this way. The plots within burgh were of one rood at least in area, and were set out with great regularity, and careful provision was made for the settlement of disputes about boundaries.

The burgh laws show that they were cultivated, and in addition there are constant references to difficulties between neighbours in regard to cattle, pigs, sheep, geese, etc., within the burgh.

The Canongate has only lately lost its character as a garden town. Gordon of Rothiemay's view shows it still elaborately gardened in the seventeenth century.

Although probably no original houses remain in any of the Scottish burghs, surviving examples in England and on the Continent, as well as the seventeenth century town plans of Blaeu and others, give us an indication of their character. They were generally framed in wood with plaster or mud-filling, each having its gable to the street, and a large gateway at the side. Gate and corner posts, etc., were elaborately carved, and there was a free use of whitewash and bright colour. This tradition of carved and painted woodwork has survived to our own day in the art of the gypsy van and agricultural wagon builders.

In this connection it is not without interest to note that certain carved stones from old St. Giles', now preserved at Swanston, seem to show that the exterior of the church was originally whitewashed. The early castle was undoubtedly "harled," as are many of the finest Scot-



tish castles to-day. Thus "Auld Reekie" was a very different town in its early days—castle and burgh and abbey all alike clean and shining; as new and practical in the eyes of their builders as Roayth is to us to-day, but with an added quality of ordered civic idealism, which is now only being recovered in part in our modern garden villages.

The burgh and abbey were self-contained units just as the castle was, each having its enclosing fence or wall and ports, and the duties and privileges of the dwellers in each were very clearly defined.

The new burgh of Edinburgh was laid out along the crown of the ridge, and first extended from Castlehill to a point a little east of the Bridges. The long closes ran down the slope on each side to back lanes, of which only the Cowgate on the south remains. The closes on the south of the Cowgate appear to belong to this original setting out, and the King's Wall represents a shrinkage of the town for military reasons; as happened later in Berwick, where the existing fortifications are far within the line of the Edwardian walls.

The Grassmarket was regularised at this time, and appears to have been originally about two-thirds of its present length.

Both the High Street and the Grassmarket must have been originally grass-grown, as are the central spaces of country villages to-day.

Limit of space in this short paper do not permit of a detailed analysis of the structure and organisation of the burgh in its early period: the subject is full of interest, and not without its pointed lessons for the present day.

It is one of the tragic results of mediæval wars and recent utilitarianism that this ancient garden town and capital of Scotland should have come to be labelled as a slum, and it is maintained that only by an understanding of its early character can its present state of squalor be remedied in such a way as to prevent that relapse which has followed too many improvement schemes in the past. But the Civic Survey leads us further than this; it brings to us the vision of the ancient hill-city renewed, not as an improved slum, but as the vital centre of the city's life.